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**HARVARD STUDIES**

IN

**CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY**

*EDITED BY A COMMITTEE OF THE CLASSICAL  
INSTRUCTORS OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY*

**VOLUME XXXIII**



Harvard University

Cambridge

*Cambridge*

**CAMBRIDGE**

**HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS**

LONDON: HUMPHREY MILFORD

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

1922

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YOUNG'S HANDBOOK  
OF PHYSICS

PRINTED AT THE HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS  
CAMBRIDGE, MASS., U.S.A.

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## PREFATORY NOTE

THESE Studies are published by authority of Harvard University and are contributed chiefly by its instructors and graduates, although contributions from other sources are not excluded. The publication is supported by a fund of \$6000, generously subscribed by the class of 1856.

CARL NEWELL JACKSON,  
CHANDLER RATHFON POST,  
WILLIAM CHASE GREENE, } EDITORIAL  
COMMITTEE.



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# THE DRAMATIC ART OF SOPHOCLES AS REVEALED BY THE FRAGMENTS OF THE LOST PLAYS

BY CHANDLER RATHFON POST

## I

THE edition of the *Fragments of Sophocles* brought out by A. C. Pearson in 1917<sup>1</sup> is so exhaustive in its scope, so profound in its erudition, so rich in new theories, and so sane in its conclusions that it may fairly be said to constitute as important a stage in the general endeavor to reconstruct the lost plays as the publication, in 1839, of F. G. Welcker's *Die griechischen Tragödien mit Rücksicht auf den epischen Cyclus geordnet*. The inclusion and elucidation of the fragments from the papyri and from the lately discovered beginning of the *Lexicon of Photius*<sup>2</sup> and the judicious discussion of the recent literature on the lost plays are in themselves important contributions. An estimate of the achievement of Sophocles may now be founded with more confidence upon a somewhat broader basis than the seven extant tragedies. The purpose of this article is to indicate certain respects in which our augmented knowledge of the other tragedies throws light upon one phase of his achievement, his dramatic art. It is, in part, merely an attempt to interpret and synthesize the results of others' investigation so far as they bear upon Sophocles as a master of the technique of tragedy. The discussion concerns itself largely with a verification, in the lost plays, of those principles of Sophoclean construction which I have sought to expound in a former article through a study of the surviving dramas;<sup>3</sup> but the wider vista, however broken and beclouded by the scarcity and vagueness of our information, has naturally brought into view other aspects of his art.

<sup>1</sup> A. C. Pearson, *The Fragments of Sophocles, edited with additional notes from the papers of Sir R. C. Jebb and Dr. W. G. Headlam*, three volumes, Cambridge University Press, 1917.

<sup>2</sup> R. Reitzenstein, *Der Anfang des Lexicons des Photios*, Leipzig, 1907.

<sup>3</sup> *The Dramatic Art of Sophocles*, in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXIII (1912), pp. 71-127.

The categorical judgments that I have allowed myself are usually based upon the limited number of definitely established facts rather than upon the almost countless conjectures in regard to the substance of many of the plays. Often, however, it has appeared worth while to point out how one hypothesis accords with the Sophoclean method rather than another. In Pearson's as well as in previous attempts to recover the contents of the lost tragedies, too much stress has been laid upon such criteria as the relation of the Greek dramatists to the different mythographers or to the Latin adaptations, and not enough attention has been given to the question whether a possible version of a plot conforms to the general rules of composition observed by Sophocles in the plays that we are so fortunate as to possess intact. Undoubtedly, much might be ascertained by the latter process with a fair degree of surety, and, as a mere suggestion to future investigators, I have tried to indicate from this standpoint how several plots may have been manipulated by Sophocles. The result may often strike the reader as identical with arguing in a circle: it may seem that I have surmised the plot or some detail to be so and so on the ground of the usual method of Sophocles, and that then I have asserted the existence, in this reconstructed plot, of the very element of Sophocles' method which I have used in building up my hypothesis. An effort, however, has been made to avoid this pitfall, and in particular, to distinguish between speculation and conclusions from facts. Despite the new information afforded by the discovery of a section of the *Ichneutae*, it has been necessary to exclude all discussion of Sophocles' treatment of satyr-plays as a subject by itself.

## II

The topic that naturally first suggests itself for investigation, although the meagre material does not provide much direct evidence, is the way in which Sophocles changed and remodelled the mythical deposit, or varied from his rivals in its use, for the purpose of achieving his dramatic ideal of tragedy essentially based upon character.<sup>1</sup> It is

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of this principle in the extant plays, cf. my article on the *Dramatic Art of Sophocles*, Section I. Aristotle, in the sixth chapter of the *Poetics*, states that the chief concern of the tragic writer is the plot. He is outlining the general principles of tragedy and probably has in mind no special author; but if

interesting to remember in this connection that, of the two examples of tragedies of character adduced by Aristotle,<sup>1</sup> the *Phthiotides* was certainly by Sophocles, and the *Peleus* is in all probability the Sophoclean rather than the Euripidean play of that name. Unfortunately nothing is known of the *Phthiotides* and not much more of the *Peleus*.

his statements be taken on their face value without modifications or further analysis and explanation, I am obliged humbly to register my disagreement with the great "master of those who know." I do not believe, however, that Aristotle would exclude the possibility that a dramatist like Sophocles might think first of character in formulating his work. The plot is the principal thing in the sense that the essence of drama is action and that it is the action which manifests to the audience the ideas of the dramatist and of his personages. Aristotle definitely asserts that characterization is subordinate to action; but this assertion may be interpreted as meaning that the characters must reveal themselves through action and the vicissitudes of the plot and not through what later in the chapter, perhaps with this very point in mind, he calls *φύεις θύεις*, bald speeches created only with a view to showing the personality of the figure in whose mouth they are placed. The characters are the cause, the action is the result; and the result is principal in the sense that it is only by action that the dramatist should declare himself to the audience. Aristotle himself says very much the same thing at the beginning of the discussion: *πέφυκε δὲ αττίς διό τῶν πράξεων εἶναι, διάνοιαν καὶ θύος*. My contention would be that Sophocles was more interested in the cause than in the result and that he even manipulated the mythical material and the plot so as to exhibit the qualities of his characters; but I should be the last to admit that he ever forgot that the medium through which he and his personages must express themselves was action. From this standpoint, even Sophocles himself would have maintained that the action or plot was the fundamental element in tragedy. Though the action is for him largely a "mode of holding up the mirror to human nature," he makes it, even in itself, thoroughly absorbing. Finally, for the sake of completeness, we may indulge in the hypothetical assumptions that Aristotle in Chapter VI meant literally to instruct the tragic writer under all circumstances to think first of his plot, that reference to Sophocles is comprised in the passage, and that I should be wrong to disagree with Aristotle, when so interpreted, in regard to this point: the pith of my thesis would still hold, for it could be shown that, even though the primary concern of Sophocles was with plot, he at least paid more attention to characterization than his rivals. (When in Chapter XVIII Aristotle mentions, as one of the four kinds of tragedy, that based upon character, he may be actually alluding to works, like those of Sophocles, in which the writer utilized the plot in order to give his figures bolder relief. The two examples that he cites are in all likelihood Sophoclean. In any case he has in mind tragedies where the springs of the action depended upon the traits of the characters more largely than in most instances.)

<sup>1</sup> *Poetics*, 18, 1456a.

In one of his two plays<sup>1</sup> entitled *Athamas*, it is established that Sophocles chose for representation a less familiar part from the later history of the Theban monarch,<sup>2</sup> in which he was depicted as doing penance for his tragic sin, as finally saved, and probably purified. If we could still read the *Athamas* of Aeschylus, we might discover that Sophocles had taken from his predecessor the hint for the same kind of elaborate study of a redeemed old man that he embodied in the *Oedipus Coloneus*; but it is significant that Euripides in any case seems to have confined himself in the play that he composed upon this myth, the *Phrixus*,<sup>3</sup> to the earlier, livelier, and more complicated phase of the story that culminated in the flight of Phrixus and Helle. The possibility that Sophocles treated this earlier phase in the other *Athamas* or in his own *Phrixus* does not diminish the importance of the fact that at least in one of the dramas of the series he selected a chapter of the tale which must have relied for its appeal chiefly upon the subtle analysis of the protagonist's personality. Likewise, if we are right in concluding that the statement of the scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, 1, 769, concerning a battle in the *Athamas* of Sophocles between the women and the Argonauts, refers to the action of the drama rather than to a narrative introduced into the drama, then Sophocles chose a section from the myth of Hypsipyle which would afford him the opportunity to depict the mental crisis in the protagonist, distraught between fear of the Argonauts, love of Jason, the knowledge of the concealed homicidal guilt of her feminine compatriots, and the imminence of the Argonauts' departure. Euripides, on the other hand, put upon the stage the much later episodes of Hypsipyle's performance of a Spanish fandango to amuse the ill-starred young Opheltes, her rescue by Amphiaraus, and her recognition by her sons; and thus evolved a melodrama that the recently recovered fragments prove to have been as sensational a conglomeration as was to be expected from Aristophanes' frequent travesties in the *Frogs*.

<sup>1</sup> W. Dindorf (*Sophoclis Tragoediae Superstites et Perditarum Fragmenta*, Oxford, 1860, vol. VIII, p. 1) may be right in this case in explaining, after his usual fashion, the existence of two plays of the same name by the theory that one was only a revision of the other.

<sup>2</sup> Pearson, I, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> The second *Phrixus* by Euripides was probably a recension of the first: cf. Augustus Nauck, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, Leipzig, 2 ed., 1889, p. 627.

As in the *Philoctetes* Sophocles introduced Neoptolemus partly for the sake of delineating the gradual triumph of his better over his worse nature, so there is very good ground for the belief<sup>1</sup> that in the *Teucre* he made the remarkable innovation of bringing Oileus, the father of the Locrian Ajax, upon the scene at Salamis in order to depict the effect upon character of a change from confidence in one's own well-being to despair at sudden disaster. Oileus was apparently conceived as first seeking to comfort Telamon at the announcement of the death of the greater Ajax and then as learning of the destruction of the Locrian Ajax. There can be little doubt that Cicero in the *Tusculan Disputations*<sup>2</sup> is referring to the *Teucre* when he says: 'Thus that same Oileus in Sophocles, who before had consoled Telamon for the death of Ajax, was broken when he heard about his own son.' There were other reasons, as always in a great author, for the novelty. The general dramatic effect must have been much heightened by thus bringing together not only the consequences of the sin of *Oedipus* in two heroes named Ajax but likewise the grief of two parents. Sophocles also was able in this way to indulge himself in his characteristic desire to broaden the vista of a tragedy beyond the horizon of the principal myth concerned.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the evidence, cf. Pearson, II, p. 214 and under fr. 576 on p. 217.

<sup>2</sup> 3, 71. Cicero then proceeds to a free translation of the lines in Sophocles that describe Oileus' change of spirit. Stobaeus quotes the same lines but assigns them to the *Oedipus*. This attribution is, of course, a mistake, and it is generally thought that *Oedipus* is a slip for *Oileus*. The only two known plays of Sophocles in which there could have been such a juxtaposition of Telamon and Oileus are the *Teucre* and the *Locrian Ajax*. Unless we refuse to believe that, as so often happened in ancient quotations from the drama, Stobaeus substituted the name of a character for the proper title of the play, and unless we are thus forced into the virtually incredible supposition that Sophocles composed an otherwise unknown *Oileus*, the chain of evidence is complete that ascribes the meeting between Telamon and Oileus to one of the two above-mentioned tragedies. Since it is extremely unlikely that the greater episode of the death of the Telamonian Ajax would have been made subordinate by being introduced as secondary in the *Locrian Ajax*, all the probabilities are in favor of the *Teucre*. Even if for the sake of argument we suppose the contrary, the appearance of Telamon in the *Locrian Ajax* would have been as great a mythical innovation and would have had the same purpose of enabling Sophocles to depict the changing moods of Oileus.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. my article on the *Dramatic Art of Sophocles*, p. 122; and below, p. 60.

The most unmistakable instances of a transmutation of myth have to do with that interest in the delineation of the crafty Odysseus which is so marvellously evinced in the *Ajax* and the *Philoctetes*.<sup>1</sup> Whereas Euripides, in the *Iphigenia at Aulis*,<sup>2</sup> merely alludes to the agency of Odysseus in the plot against the heroine, Photius<sup>3</sup> definitely states that Sophocles introduced him as a character in his *Iphigenia*, which covered the same general ground. Apparently Sophocles here seized the opportunity for another study of Odysseus' worldly-wise personality: the Ithacan was probably instrumental in hoodwinking Clytaemnestra into acceding to the trumped-up marriage of her daughter with Achilles, and Welcker<sup>4</sup> surmises that he ensnared Achilles by first pretending to him that the marriage was real, so that the relation between these two characters would be analogous to that of Odysseus and Neoptolemus in the *Philoctetes*. If, as is altogether likely, the reference in Aristotle's *Rhetoric*<sup>5</sup> to a debate between Teucer and Odysseus in a play called *Teucer* may be assigned to the Sophoclean drama of that title, then Sophocles went out of his way to introduce Odysseus at Salamis, departing from the narrative of the *Odyssey*, which had represented him as pursuing a different course after the departure from Troy.<sup>6</sup> It is not at all probable that Sophocles was preceded in this radical innovation by the *Salaminian Women* of Aeschylus, which treated the same theme of Teucer's return but which is otherwise unknown to us. Even if Aeschylus was responsible for the invention, the fact that Sophocles followed him in such an extraordinary recasting of the myth would be significant of the fascination that the personality of Odysseus exercised upon him. The passage from Aristotle reveals that the son of Laertes no longer finds it in harmony with his canny philosophy to assume, as at the end of the *Ajax*, such a generous rôle as that of advocate of Teucer's petitions to bury his brother; he now sides with the old Telamon in his hostility towards Teucer and accuses the latter of having been "pro-Trojan." Other

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my article, pp. 92-94 and 121.

<sup>2</sup> *I. A.*, 107 (occurring in a passage of doubtful authenticity), 522 ff., and 1361 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Lex.* (ed. Porson), p. 410, 12.

<sup>4</sup> *I.*, p. 108. (The references to Welcker in this article are always to Volume I.)

<sup>5</sup> 3, 15, 1416b2 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Pearson, II, p. 215.

testimony to the manner in which Sophocles was obsessed by the character of Odysseus will be catalogued below.

Not infrequently the divergence from Euripides takes the form of a noble simplicity in contrast to such melodramatic, or, if one does not fancy the adjective, "romantic" complications as the old peasant's respect for Electra's chastity or the enticement of Clytaemnestra to Electra's hut by the pretence of childbirth. In the *Iphigenia* of Sophocles, Clytaemnestra and her daughter were probably lured to Aulis by an embassy of Odysseus and Talthybius (or Diomedes)<sup>1</sup>; Euripides summons them with a letter of Agamemnon and then adds the intricacy of a second intercepted letter of recantation, a device which doubtless is theatrically effective but is organically unnecessary. Sophocles apparently did not complicate his *Hermione*<sup>2</sup> by Euripides' insertion of the Andromache *motif*, or his *Meleager*<sup>3</sup> by Euripides' superimposition of the erotic *motif* of Atalanta.<sup>4</sup> On the ground of greater simplicity I should be disposed to agree with E. Thraemer's<sup>5</sup> interpretation of Telephus' discovery of his mother in the *Mysians* rather than with Welcker's,<sup>6</sup> K. Robert's,<sup>7</sup> and Pearson's<sup>8</sup> belief in the elaborate version, which later appears in Hyginus,<sup>9</sup> of a marriage with his mother and a theatrically averted incest. Although it was generally true that Sophocles was less complex than Euripides, the slight absolute knowledge that we possess about the former's *Ἀχαιῶν σύλλογος* does not of itself justify the conclusion of Wilamowitz<sup>10</sup> that such a relationship existed between this tragedy and the *Telephus* of Euripides, which treated the same later phase

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p. 219.

<sup>2</sup> For the evidence upon the plot, cf. Pearson, I, pp. 141-143.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, II, pp. 65-66.

<sup>4</sup> For the *Meleager* of Euripides, cf. Nauck, *op. cit.*, p. 525, and for the *Atalanta motif*, frs. 521, 522, and 525.

<sup>5</sup> *Pergamos*, Leipzig, 1888, pp. 374-379.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 414-416.

<sup>7</sup> *Beiträge zur Erklärung des pergamenischen Telephos-Prieses, Jahrb. des Kais. Deut. Arch. Instituts*, II (1887), pp. 246-248.

<sup>8</sup> II, pp. 70-72.

<sup>9</sup> *Fab.* 100.

<sup>10</sup> W. Schubart and U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Berliner Klassikerleiste*, vol. v, *Griechische Dichterfragmente*, part II, *Lyrische und dramatische Fragmente*, Berlin, 1907, p. 71.

of that hero's life, his cure at the hands of Achilles. Wilamowitz argues further that the *'Αχαιῶν σύλλογος*, because of its supposed simplicity, was prior to the *Telephus*. Other reasons, however, will be adduced below<sup>1</sup> for the theory that the *'Αχαιῶν σύλλογος* was an early play, and these may be used as cumulative evidence in favor of the German scholar's contentions.

### III

In my former essay<sup>2</sup> I endeavored to show that the will of the protagonist, in Sophocles, is centered upon a definite object and that the drama is constructed of a series of episodes which serve the three-fold purpose of testing, punishing, and purifying that will. In some instances also the will of a secondary figure is put through certain ordeals. The system of testing is one phase of the conflict of wills that underlies all true drama. It is pertinent to discover how far this whole theory of Sophoclean architecture is confirmed by the lost tragedies. The theory implies the orthodox dogma of the "tragic sin." It is customary to define the tragic sin as the flaw in an essentially noble personality, the *ἀμαρτίας τύπος* of Aristotle;<sup>3</sup> and the system of punishment and purification of the will would apply peculiarly to tragedies admitting this interpretation. But the tragic sin may sometimes have been conceived as a definite misdeed or crime in the past, for which the protagonist is merely punished by the ordeals through which he passes and by the catastrophe; or there may have been a series of offenses. In such cases, the strength of will might be tested by the dramatic action; but although, as perhaps in the *Alcmaeon* of Sophocles, the play might include a formal, *ritualistic* purification from the stain of crime, and although the sufferings and punishment of the protagonist might be understood as a kind of purifying *penance*, yet no idea of a gradual purification from a constant defect of character would be necessarily involved. Among Sophocles' extant tragedies, however, those which take cognizance of definite transgressions exhibit also the persistence, in the protagonist's personality, of the fault that occasioned the misdeed or misdeeds; and if we possessed all of his writings intact, we might discover that such was always his practice.

<sup>1</sup> P. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 81 ff. and 98 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Poetics*, 13, 3, 1453a10.

Since many critics<sup>1</sup> doubt whether Sophocles was generally actuated by any conception of sin and purification, the inquiry takes on the nature of a polemic. H. F. Müller, in his book called *Die Tragödien des Sophokles*,<sup>2</sup> champions a keenly elaborated theory that in the extant dramas Sophocles has no intent of infusing moral elevation into his audience by the sight of a man punished for sin or slowly purified of sin but seeks rather a crushing and soul-shaking effect by the sight of a man engaged in a terrible conflict with the established authorities, with duty, or particularly with fate. The protagonist is not a victim of his fault. The tragic writer, Müller holds, does not concern himself with the question whether the will is good or bad. He is concerned only with the fact of a definite character and with the fact that this character expresses itself in certain deeds. The element of tragedy is sometimes found in the interference of fate to work the opposite of the protagonist's will and to pervert the outcome of these deeds into catastrophe, as when the impetuous search of Oedipus for the criminal unexpectedly results in the revelation of his own guilt, or when the gift of the garment that Deianira supposes to be a love-charm results in the death of her beloved. Müller finds the Aristotelian catharsis of the passions in the pity aroused by the vision of a mortal in the hands of fate and in the fear of the spectator that he himself may fall victim to a similar disaster. The audience is transported from the finite to the infinite by the contemplation of the inscrutable but ultimately beneficent workings of fate, and leaves the theater with the German equivalent of the catharsis, a *freies Wohlgefühl*. In certain respects Müller's interpretation and my own theory are in accord: he acknowledges that the will of the protagonist is directed to a definite end, and he does not expressly deny the existence of the protagonist's sin. The difficulty would be that Müller would refuse to accept the phrase "tragic sin," since his opinion is that Sophocles was not interested in guilt or innocence and that therefore there can be no idea of punishment or purification. It would not be my own wish to press the idea of punishment and purification too far. The *Antigone*,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my essay, p. 105, n. 4, where I have referred to the rejection of the tragic sin by the Wolff-Bellermann editions of the two Oedipus plays.

<sup>2</sup> Heidelberg, 1909.

*Electra*, and *Trackiniae* are delicate problems from this standpoint;<sup>1</sup> but the interpretation of these and of the other extant plays may be assisted by an honest effort to determine to how great a degree the general constructive system was employed in the lost tragedies. Inasmuch as I have limited myself to the framework of test, punishment, and purgation only in its bearing upon technical structure, it would not be relevant here to enter upon a discussion of Sophocles' conception of the essence of the tragic and of the catharsis of the passions.

Intimately involved with the question of the tragic sin is the problem of what may be called the "purificatory sequence." By this phrase I refer primarily to that relationship existing between two (or more) Sophoclean dramas which is illustrated by the manner in which the *Oedipus Coloneus* perfects the process of purification of character begun in the *Oedipus King*;<sup>2</sup> but the words may be applied loosely also to a series of plays in which is represented punishment for or ritualistic purification from a crime committed in an earlier member of the group, or in all of which are embodied the ordeals of a merely penitential purification from guilt. The extant tragedies do not afford further evidence for determining whether it was the common practice of Sophocles thus to compensate in part for abandoning the older custom of producing at the same time a trilogy of connected plays derived from the same myth. He often brought out in different years tragedies based on the various episodes of one long myth, but only the fragments and other data concerning the lost dramas can assist in an inquiry as to whether he maintained a sequence of thought or of development in any other tragedies of this kind besides the two *Oedipus* plays.<sup>3</sup> It is perhaps not absolutely necessary to assume that a tragedy exhibiting the final redemption of a character was produced subsequently to one embodying the earlier stages of the evolution, but probability is so much in favor of this assumption that the investigation has a direct bearing upon the chronology of Sophocles' works. If

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my article, p. 102. To the transgressions of Heracles there mentioned may be added the murder of Iphitus (cf. *Trackiniae*, 269 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. my article, pp. 106-108.

<sup>3</sup> If in a few instances Sophocles still produced trilogies of connected plays, he might have established a purificatory sequence through the whole trilogy instead of following his usual practice of establishing such a sequence in plays that were brought out at different times.

such purificatory sequences can be proved or at least inferred, they would constitute another instance of his desire for breadth of vista, which is illustrated in the extant dramas by the introduction of passages designed to transport the imagination of the spectator beyond the spatial and temporal limits of the actual scene.<sup>1</sup>

The information that may be gleaned in regard to the plays which continued the themes of any of the extant tragedies is too slight to provide much satisfaction. There is general agreement that, in the drama named after him, Teucer was represented as returning from Troy and as expelled by Telamon from Salamis because of the death of Ajax. The virtually certain fact that Odysseus in this play sought to thwart the sojourn of Teucer at Salamis<sup>2</sup> indicates that the will of the protagonist may have been focused upon remaining at his home and that the opposition of Odysseus was one of the tests that he had to encounter. Another would have been the hostility of his father. His will must have succumbed at last in order that he might emigrate to Cyprus, but this consummation may have been achieved, as in the *Philoctetes*,<sup>3</sup> only through the command of a *deus ex machina*, the appearance of whom in the *Teucer* is suggested by Pearson<sup>4</sup> on other grounds. No tragic sin of Teucer is discernible either in the latter part of the *Ajax* or in this tragedy, and therefore no process of continuing purification can be traced. The father, Telamon, who was evidently the deuteragonist, was probably conceived as subject to the common tragic defect of quickness to wrath, which Teucer in the *Ajax* incidentally ascribes to him.<sup>5</sup> The quotation of a line of the *Teucer* in the parabasis of the *Clouds*<sup>6</sup> would imply that in 423 B.C. its memory was still fresh in the minds of Aristophanes and his audience (unless the quotation belongs to the later revision of the comedy), and that therefore it was brought out at a later date than the *Ajax*.<sup>7</sup> Nothing is known of the third play of Sophocles drawn from this myth, the *Eury-saces*, except that in order to be honored in the title of the work the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, p. 5, especially n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> II, p. 216.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, p. 6.

<sup>5</sup> 1017-1018.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. my article, p. 85.

<sup>6</sup> 583.

<sup>7</sup> E. A. J. Ahrens (in the Didot publication of *Sophoclis Tragoediae et Perditarum Fragmenta*, 2d ed., Paris, 1864, p. 283) and Pearson (II, p. 214), however, would not be loath to date the *Teucer* before the *Ajax*.

son of Ajax must have been a prominent character and therefore grown to man's estate, so that the action would have been subsequent to that of the other two tragedies.

The title of the *Philoctetes at Troy* intimates that it comprised the events which are prophesied by Heracles in the extant *Philoctetes*<sup>1</sup>—the cure of the hero, his slaughter of Paris, and his assistance in the capture of Troy; but no hint exists as to the dramatic mode in which Sophocles treated the material. Since *Philoctetes* at the end of the extant tragedy has only begun to gain the mastery over his tragic defect of bitterness of spirit, there is every reason for believing that the lost tragedy, like the *Oedipus Coloneus*, traced the evolution to an ultimate victory over self.

It will subsequently appear that the *Aletes* perhaps formed a purificatory sequel to the *Electra*.

The other lost dramas may most conveniently be taken up in the Greek alphabetical order; but in cases where several plays are drawn from the same myth, all will be considered together under the letter of the play of the series that occurs first in the alphabetical arrangement.

In that one of the two *Athamas* tragedies which has already been discussed, punishment for sin is clearly to be discerned. The scholia on the *Clouds* of Aristophanes, 257, state that the protagonist was about to be sacrificed through the instrumentality of his first wife, Nephele, because of his crime against their children, Phrixus and Helle, but that he was saved by the announcement of Heracles that Phrixus was alive. The substance of the other *Athamas* and of the *Phrixus* is too doubtful to admit of any conclusions; but if either of them told the earlier tale of the attempted sacrifice of Phrixus by his father,<sup>2</sup> then the *Athamas* the substance of which is known would be the second member of a purificatory sequence.

No definite ancient statement exists as to the matter of the *Locrian Ajax*; but since the only vicissitudes of the hero's life that adapted themselves to dramatic treatment were his violation of Cassandra and his death in the storm that fell upon the Greeks returning from Troy, we are justified in conjecturing that Sophocles utilized one or both of these subjects. He probably emphasized the general tradition of

<sup>1</sup> 1423 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, p. 4.

antiquity that ascribed to the son of Oileus the sin of arrogance. Homer<sup>1</sup> gives as the reason for his destruction his scorn of divine assistance, and it is curious that Sophocles represented the other *Ajax* as cursed by precisely the same form of *ὕβρις*.<sup>2</sup> The desecration of Athena's image and the rape of Cassandra are further manifestations of this insolence, calling down the wrath of the virgin goddess upon him as upon the Telamonian Ajax, whose story Sophocles linked with that of the Locrian Ajax in several ways.<sup>3</sup> There were current tales, which the poet may well have coerced into service, of the final purification of Ajax, the son of Oileus, either through an exculpatory oath before a council of the Greeks or through an aetiological explanation of the yearly Locrian custom of sending two noble maidens to the service of the temple of Athena at Troy.<sup>4</sup> Two lines preserved for us by Stobaeus<sup>5</sup> seem to embody an explicit predication by Sophocles, as in the other *Ajax* play, of the tragic sin and its punishment:

τὸ χρήσεον δὲ τὰς Δίκας δέδορκεν  
δύμα, τὸν δ' ἀδικον ἀμείβεται.

The Aegeus probably treated the arrival of the youthful Theseus at Athens, the plot against him by Medea, who was living with Aegeus as wife or mistress, and his recognition by his father.<sup>6</sup> If, in opposition to Nauck,<sup>7</sup> we follow Pearson in assigning fragment 24<sup>8</sup> to this tragedy, as seems more natural, then the application of the demonstrative *οὗτος* and the adjective *σκληρός* to Pallas, the brother of Aegeus, indicates that Pallas was a character and that Sophocles put upon the stage the traditional opposition of Pallas and his sons to the sovereignty of Aegeus and Theseus. Pearson surmises that Theseus must have been sent to capture the Marathonian bull before he was recognized by his father. The ground for his surmise is apparently that, since the drama must have concluded with the recognition of Theseus and his acknowledgment as the heir, there was no place at the end for that capture of the bull which is plainly referred to in

<sup>1</sup> *Od.*, 4, 502 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Pearson, I, p. 9.

<sup>7</sup> 2 ed., p. 135.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. my article, p. 100.

<sup>5</sup> Pearson, fr. 12; Nauck, 11.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above, p. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Pearson, I, pp. 15-16.

<sup>8</sup> N. 872. The references in this article are to the numbering of the fragments in Pearson; the numbers of Nauck are also given with the letter N. prefixed to the figure.

fragment 25.<sup>1</sup> The supposition would then be that Sophocles agreed with those writers who represented Theseus as despatched against the bull at the suggestion of Medea in the hope that he would thus meet his destruction. The *Aegeus* presents the first case in which such speculations as these tend to be corroborated by comparison with the general Sophoclean method. The data seem to point to the following scheme. The will of Aegeus would be focused upon maintaining the Athenian heritage for himself and for Theseus. This fixed purpose would be subjected to the tests of obstruction on the part of Pallas and his sons and of hostility on the part of Medea. Many details, of course, must remain obscure even to conjecture. Since Aegeus did not recognize his son until the end, his desire of securing Athens for his race must have been only general and not concentrated upon the unknown young man who had mysteriously appeared at court. As it was the custom of Sophocles to name a play after the person whose will was predominant,<sup>2</sup> all the tests ought to be applied to Aegeus; but it is hard to see how the adventure of the Marathonian bull and the culminating attempt to poison Theseus could have been such tests, particularly when Aegeus does not hold out but succumbs to the persuasion of Medea, himself sending Theseus on the commission of conquering the bull and presenting to him the envenomed cup. Perhaps, as in the *Antigone* and *Ajax*, the second part of the play consisted of tests of the deuteragonist's will, and the *motifs* of the bull and the poison were conceived as trials of Theseus. In any case, Aegeus would have achieved a triumph of the will at the *dénouement* when he recognized Theseus and showed himself finally obdurate to the machinations of Medea. The building of a play on a framework of tests was no iron-bound system with Sophocles, and appears in its perfection only in the *Electra* and the *Oedipus King*.

Of the dramas that Sophocles constructed from the episodes of the Perseus myth, the *Acrisius* and the *Danae* are unknown quantities. If, as has been conjectured, these titles were alternative descriptions of the same work, and if, therefore, the appearance of both *Acrisius* and *Danae* in the same tragedy narrows down our choice of subject to the story of the latter's divine *liaison*, the father may easily be imag-

<sup>1</sup> Since this fr. is from the new Photius, it is not included in Nauck.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. my article, p. 86, and below, pp. 44-46.

ined to have concentrated his efforts upon evading the oracle that foretold his death at the hands of his daughter's offspring and not to have shrunk from the last test of committing Danae and his grandson to the doubtful mercies of the waves. The tragic sin perhaps consisted in his constant resort to any means for the sake of furthering his end. The title *Danae* certainly suggests that Sophocles composed a play upon the early vicissitudes of the princess, unless one follows F. W. Wagner<sup>1</sup> in assigning the title to the material treated by Euripides in the *Dictys*, her later persecution in Seriphos by Polydectes. The development that I have indicated for the *Danae* tends to be corroborated by the probably similar structure of the one tragedy in the series of which the subject seems almost indubitable, the *Larissaei*. The name, for which *Acrisius* may again be a variant, and the fragments justify the belief that it had to do with the fulfilment of the oracle in the death of the old king at Larissa through the quoit of Perseus. On the assumption that Sophocles accepted the version of the tale which represented Acrisius as fleeing from Argos to escape his prophesied doom, his will would still have been directed towards averting his destiny, and he would have been so bent upon his purpose as to have swallowed the bitter pill of reconciliation with his grandson, since the reconciliation would naturally imply immunity from danger in that quarter. If Pearson<sup>2</sup> is right in interpreting fragment 378<sup>3</sup> to mean that Acrisius himself gave the ganies in honor of the restoration of domestic concord, then here would be another of Müller's interferences of fate. As the wilful search of Oedipus for the culprit eventually resulted in his own downfall, so the irrepressible desire of Acrisius for safety misled him into a reconciliation which fate perverted into the cause of his death.

The *Andromeda* belonged to the same myth but apparently not to the same sequence. With this play, we are on a bit of *terra firma* again, however small. The scientist Eratosthenes, writing as early as the third century B.C., states in his *Catasterismi*<sup>4</sup> that Sophocles represented at least one personage connected with the drama, the mother

<sup>1</sup> *Poetarum Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, Warsaw, 1852, I, p. 198.

<sup>2</sup> II, p. 48.

<sup>3</sup> N. 348.

<sup>4</sup> A. Westermann, *Mythographi, Scriptores Poeticae Historiae Graeci*, Brunswick, 1843, pp. 250 and 263.

Cassiepea, as guilty of the Greek sin of *ὕβρις*, since she had dared to compare her own beauty to that of the Nereids and had thus brought upon her country the terrible visitation of the sea-monster. How this fact was worked into the scheme, it is impossible to determine. If E. Petersen's<sup>1</sup> explanation of a sentence in the sixteenth section of Eratosthenes is correct, she was introduced as a character sitting beside her fettered daughter. The suggestions of K. Wernicke<sup>2</sup> and Petersen,<sup>3</sup> that the gallantry of Perseus towards Andromeda was further balked after the deliverance by another suitor for her hand, are strengthened by the consideration that such an opposition would constitute just the kind of trial of the hero's will in which Sophocles delighted. Perseus was perhaps the protagonist; to achieve his purpose of marriage with the persecuted maiden he would have had to meet the two tests of the fight with the monster and the struggle with a rival. Possibly, although Petersen takes a contrary view,<sup>4</sup> there was also a conflict with the maiden's father, Cepheus, whom several versions of the story, notably the Euripidean, conceived as adverse to surrendering his daughter to her liberator. If Andromeda was the protagonist, she may have been represented as an heroic maiden, sacrificing herself willingly, like the Iphigenia of Euripides at Aulis, for the sake of her country. Her purpose would be tested by the terror of the dragon, but, like Iphigenia, she would be finally saved.

The *Aleadae* brings us to Sophocles' manipulation of the Telephus myth. It is fairly evident that his *Mysians* had to do with the second part of this story, relating Telephus' recognition of his mother at the court of Teuthras, and that he was here conceived as stained with that murder of his two uncles, the sons of King Aleos of Tegea, which was the theme of the *Aleadae*. Certain ancient allusions<sup>5</sup> to Telephus as suffering under a curse of enforced silence are generally referred to the play by Aeschylus, also entitled the *Mysians*, and perhaps Sophocles chose as the cause for the journey of Telephus to Mysia, not the oracle declaring that he should there learn the truth about his parentage, but the obligation to do a penance of exile for the double murder

<sup>1</sup> *Andromeda*, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXIV (1904), p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> Pauly-Wissowa, I, 2156.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 109.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 109.

<sup>5</sup> Nauck, *op. cit.*, under the *Muso* of Aeschylus.

that he had committed.<sup>1</sup> A papyrus fragment at Berlin proves beyond reasonable doubt that the 'Αχαιῶν σύλλογος embodied a still later phase of the history, the healing of Telephus by Achilles. According to the usual version, Telephus had been first wounded by Achilles because he had attacked the Greeks when they landed in Mysia and had actually killed Thersander, the son of Polynices. This fact, when brought into connection with his previous assassination of his uncles, would imply that the failing of Telephus was quickness to wrath. Such may have been his tragic sin in all three dramas. He could thus be compared to Oedipus, and the murder of the uncles in the *Aleadae* would correspond to the death of Laius, except that Telephus probably recognized his victims. If, as Welcker plausibly surmises,<sup>2</sup> fragment 85<sup>3</sup> of the *Aleadae* was spoken by Telephus at the height of his anger, then he himself was depicted by Sophocles as acknowledging, even at this moment, the impiety of his act.

It is hard to resist the temptation to make the scant data about the 'Αχαιῶν σύλλογος conform to one of Sophocles' schemes of composition. Inasmuch as Achilles does not seem to have joined the muster until the play had already begun, the first part was probably taken up with the arrival of Telephus. He can be imagined to have been intent on his cure, but, in order to achieve his desire, forced to overcome his old velleity to anger, now assuming the form of resentment against the Greeks. Before the commencement of the action he must have taken the first step in the victory over his ill temper by obeying the oracle that directed him to seek relief from Achilles who had wounded him. When he had reached Argos where the Greek host was gathered once again after eight years, his will, concentrated upon recovery from his wound, was perhaps represented in the first half of the play as subjected to a test or tests arising out of his lingering antipathy. Achilles too must have felt some animosity remaining from his former combat with Telephus, and the second part seems to have consisted of

<sup>1</sup> Pearson, II, p. 71. It is, of course, possible that the mother, Auge, was the protagonist of the *Mysians*. If we accept as Sophoclean the version of Hyginus that I am inclined to reject on account of its complication (cf. above, p. 7), the central *motif* would have been her constancy to her first lover, Heracles, and she would have carried her strength of purpose even to the point of planning to slay her new husband, whom she did not know to be her son.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 413.

<sup>3</sup> N. 82.

tests which were calculated to eradicate this rancor and which were finally successful. One of the tests to which Achilles had to submit was the persuasive eloquence of Odysseus. So reconstructed, the 'Αχαιῶν σύλλογος would be similar to the early tragedies of Sophocles, the *Antigone* and the *Ajax*, the first section being assigned to tests of the protagonist's will and the second to tests of the deuteragonist's will;<sup>1</sup> as in the *Antigone*, the deuteragonist, Achilles, would in the end yield to the pressure brought to bear upon him. On other grounds, Wilamowitz<sup>2</sup> dates the work before the corresponding *Telephus* of Euripides, which was produced in 438 B.C., three or four years after the *Antigone*. Although his argument itself does not seem to me to carry conviction, the scheme of dramatic architecture that I have outlined would tend to substantiate at least his chronological deduction.

The analogies between the Sophoclean characters of Telephus and Philoctetes are self-evident. They extend even to oracles demanding the coöperation of each, if Troy is to be taken, and to the resentment of both heroes as an obstacle to the design of fate. The cure of Telephus in the 'Αχαιῶν σύλλογος may have implied his final release from the tragic sin, so that this play might be construed as the last of another purificatory sequence, the earlier members of which would have been the *Aleadae* and the *Mysians*. If the *Mysians* really illustrated a stage in the purification, and if a chronological succession is also to be assumed, this tragedy must have preceded the 'Αχαιῶν σύλλογος and could not be dated, according to Robert's highly fanciful theory,<sup>3</sup> after 427 B.C.

The Σίνδειτνοι, on the supposition that the now prevalent ideas about it are correct, must have been very similar to the latter half of the 'Αχαιῶν σύλλογος. It had hitherto often been held that the two titles were alternative descriptions of the same play, but the publication of the Berlin papyrus of the 'Αχαιῶν σύλλογος turned the scale of evidence strongly in favor of a separation. Whereas there is at present every reason to believe that the 'Αχαιῶν σύλλογος had to do with the second muster of the Greeks at Argos, it is all but certain that the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my article, pp. 87 and 88.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> K. Robert, *Beiträge zur Erklärung des pergamenischen Telephos-Frieses, Jahrb. des Kais. Deut. Arch. Instituts*, II (1887), p. 248.

*Σύνδετνοι* represented their stop at Tenedos and the refusal of Achilles to proceed on the expedition because he thought himself slighted in the invitations to the wassail there kept by the Hellenic chieftains. The chain of proof that the *Σύνδετνοι* was a distinct tragedy is not absolutely complete,<sup>1</sup> and, in order to apply to it the canons of the serious Sophoclean drama, it is also necessary to reject the less easily dismissed suggestion that it was a satyr-play.<sup>2</sup> Working on the generally accepted propositions, however, we arrive in any case at a dramatic situation closely parallel to that of the *Ἀχαιῶν σύλλογος* — Achilles, who himself corresponds now to Philoctetes, holding back the enterprise by sulking, and subjected to the wiles and taunts of Odysseus. Other means may have been called into service to bend his stubbornness, and, again like Philoctetes, in the end he may have begun to give way. It seems difficult to account for the appearance of Thetis, certified by fragment 562,<sup>3</sup> in any other way than as *dea ex machina*. She could hardly have spoken a formal Euripidean prologue, since she addresses Achilles. Like Heracles in the *Philoctetes*, she probably gave divine sanction to her son's already developing proclivity for conciliation. This marked moral analogy to the *dénouement* of the *Philoctetes*, which was brought out in 409 B.C., may be used to support the proposed late dating of the *Σύνδετνοι*.<sup>4</sup>

The *Aletes* provides another alluring field for speculation. The fragments give no real clue as to the subject, but Welcker<sup>5</sup> guesses at the story of 'Αλέιτης, the son of Aegisthus, on the ground that the vicissitudes of no other mythological personage of this name contain suitable material for a tragedy. He is obliged to waive the fact that the only ancient who quotes the play, Stobaeus, always gives the title as 'Αλείτης (sinner); and the present writer is not certain that the tale of 'Αλέιτης of Corinth, the descendant of Heracles, especially his

<sup>1</sup> For instance, the passages quoted by Pearson (II, p. 199) in regard to a work of Sophocles centering at Tenedos and to a banquet where Achilles was offended do not mention the *Σύνδετνοι* by name. If any one should venture to take up the issue again, he might argue that the identity of the two plays would explain the tardy arrival of Achilles in the *Ἀχαιῶν σύλλογος* by reference to the insult now connected with the *Σύνδετνοι*.

<sup>2</sup> Pearson (II, pp. 200-201) discards this suggestion too lightly.

<sup>3</sup> Not in Nauck.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Pearson, II, p. 202 (notes under fr. 562).

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 215.

struggle with Codrus of Athens, is not fraught with as great dramatic possibilities and does not jibe as well with the few lines that are preserved. Welcker's supposition, however, has been generally approved, and it must be acknowledged that the legend which Hyginus tells about the Mycenaean Aletes can be very neatly accommodated to the Sophoclean architecture. In violation of Sophocles' habit of naming the play after the protagonist, Electra would seem to have assumed the principal rôle, or at least she would have been a very important character and the recipient of the tests. The general course of development would be closely parallel to that of the extant *Electra*. Her will can be imagined to have been centered upon frustrating the usurpation of the throne by Aletes, as before by his father, and upon vengeance. The first test was another false report of Orestes' death, this time as an offering to Artemis in Tauris. In the account of Hyginus, the message is delivered at Mycenae, and Electra betakes herself to the Delphic oracle to seek the truth, or at least the details, of her brother's murder. If the false report was included in the action of the *Aletes*, the journey of Electra to Delphi (followed by Aletes) would seem to involve a change of scene; but the dramatic economy of Sophocles may have placed the action from the first at Delphi, whither she may have resorted for some such purpose as merely to get news of Orestes and where the tale of his death may have reached her and Aletes. In any case she was undaunted by the message; and very probably a second test consisted in the futile endeavor of Aletes to bend her to submission. Fragment 101<sup>1</sup> may very well be an assertion, on the part of Electra, of her consciousness of a just determination:

ψυχὴ γὰρ εἴνουσα καὶ φρονῶσα τοῦνδικον  
κρέστων σοφιστοῦ ταῦτα ἔστιν εὑρίσκειν.

The rest of the plot may have proceeded in the following manner. Iphigenia and Orestes arrive at Delphi on the same day, and the culminating test would be the confirmation of the death through the messenger's indication of Iphigenia as the priestess of the sacrifice. Even under this final blow Electra's will does not collapse. Instead of succumbing, she forces the recognition by a frenzied attack upon Iphigenia. Aletes is then slain by Orestes, and the most significant part of the *dénouement* is the marriage of Electra to Pylades.

<sup>1</sup> N. 97.

If the harshness of temperament that marks Electra in the play named after her is to be considered a tragic sin, the rough experiences of that play would not seem to have completely purged her, for in the *Aletes* she would still appear brutal enough to attempt the blinding of Iphigenia. She is not to be conceived as thoroughly cleansed and restored to harmony with the universal law of moderation (*σωφροσύνη*) until she has passed through all the additional trials of the *Aletes*; and her marriage with Pylades would be the final seal upon her reconciliation with the principles of right. The action of the *Aletes* would then constitute the same kind of sequel to the *Electra* as the *Oedipus Coloneus* to the *Oedipus King*, the marriage serving a purpose similar to that of the apotheosis of Oedipus; and, since the *Oedipus Coloneus* belongs to the end of Sophocles' career, another reason would be added to the arguments for the late dating of the lost tragedy.<sup>1</sup> If it was this myth that provided the plot, the fragments imply that the deuteragonist, Aletes, was delineated as an upstart and a rhetorical braggart.

Not much satisfaction can be derived from the scant information concerning the plays that Sophocles wrote on the myth of Alcmaeon and Eriphyle. The *Epigoni*, with which the tragedy quoted as the *Eriphyle* was possibly identical, evidently contained Alcmaeon's murder of his mother and his participation in the expedition of the Epigoni; and there has been a hot debate between scholars on the question whether Sophocles represented Alcmaeon as performing his father's bloody command before or after the expedition. One possible interpretation of the tragic sin may be urged in support of Pearson,<sup>2</sup> who takes up the cudgels for the latter alternative against the Germans. Pearson is troubled by the fact that Alcmaeon would thus unpardonably delay the execution of the paternal behest, and he eludes the difficulty by suggesting that Alcmaeon did not learn of the injunction until towards the end of the drama; but may not this very procrastination be the tragic sin? The play would have broken in two like the *Ajax*, if the first part had treated only the expedition and if the slaughter of Eriphyle was introduced as a new *motif* in the second half. The constant postponement of action by Alcmaeon would be needed to bind the sections together. The object of his will was

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Pearson, I, p. 62.

<sup>2</sup> I, pp. 130-131.

perhaps obedience to his father, and the tendency to delay may have been a kind of continuous test over which he was finally triumphant, together with other tests which may have been afforded by the second expedition against Thebes. Alcmaeon would thus have been delineated as the same kind of wavering, hesitating youth as the Orestes of the *Iphigenia in Tauris*, of the *Choephoroi* of Aeschylus, or even (though to a less extent) of Sophocles' own *Electra*. He too would deserve the catch-phrase that has been applied to Orestes — the "ancient Hamlet." Another analogy would be added to the obvious parallelisms between Alcmaeon and Orestes, such as the matricide and the subsequent Fury-driven madness.

To Aeschylus and to the modern reader Alcmaeon's great sin would be the killing of his mother, and there is reason to believe that Sophocles, in distinction from his attitude in the *Electra*, stressed the guilt to such a point that a second play was necessary to incorporate a ritualistic purification. This was the *Alcmaeon*, if, as has been generally held on very slight evidence, Sophocles here enshrined the same portion from the long myth as Euripides in the Ἀλκμέων δ διὰ Ψωφίδος and represented the hero as freed from the stain of crime by Phegeus, the king of Psophis in Arcadia. In any case, the matricide was not the "tragic sin" in the strict Aristotelian sense, i.e., the flaw in a great character. The vengeance wrought upon the sons of Phegeus for murdering Alcmaeon, no matter whether Alcmaeon's first wife, Alphesiboea, or his second, Callirhoe, was introduced as the instigator of this vengeance, indicates that he had attained to a degree of righteousness that made his assassination by the sons of Phegeus a serious offense. Perhaps he rid himself of the real tragic defect, whatever it was, and the *Alcmaeon* would bear the same relation to the *Epigoni* as the *Aletes* to the *Electra*. All this theorizing, however, rests only upon the most unsubstantial hypotheses, and possibly it was Eriphyle who acted the protagonist, at least of the *Epigoni* and of the *Eriphyle*, if the latter was a separate play and related that lady's treachery towards her husband, Amphiaraus. Certainly her misdeeds were of varied enough hues to have afforded a splendid choice to a dramatist.

Inasmuch as Thyestes is the only other person besides Oedipus whom Aristotle in the thirteenth chapter of the *Poetics* cites by name as a type of the lordly and not essentially vicious protagonist who is

plunged into ruin by some frailty, it would be particularly instructive if the plays by Sophocles on the tale of Atreus and his brother had survived, especially since it may be that in this case, as for the theme of Oedipus, Aristotle was referring to Sophocles. Not only the content of these plays, however, but even their number remains a mystery. That he wrote a tragedy to center in the anthropophagous banquet, seems fairly established; but there is no trustworthy evidence that permits a decision between the titles *Atreus* (of which an alternative name was the *Mycenaean Women*) and the first *Thyestes* (*Θυέστης α'*). The two ancient passages which appear to bear upon the plot of this drama and which are quoted by Pearson<sup>1</sup> might as well allude to the substance of choral lyrics or to incidental references even in some other tragedies of Sophocles; or the more important passage, the scholium on line 812 of the *Orestes* of Euripides, may contemplate some one detail of the Sophoclean banquet-play, such as the drowning of Aerope, rather than the whole work. In any case the passages do not reveal any Sophoclean peculiarities in the treatment of the ordinary legend, except possibly Thyestes' submission of his claim upon the golden lamb to a legal court and the final murder of Thyestes by the vindictive Atreus.<sup>2</sup> It is easy to imagine either Atreus or Thyestes as protagonist, intent upon keeping the sovereignty for himself and balking at no obstacles. If it was this drama of which Aristotle was thinking, Thyestes would be the more natural choice, since it is he rather than his brother who is shattered by the catastrophe; and it must be remembered that Seneca used the title *Thyestes* for the same substance.

The one indubitable fact is that Sophocles wrote a drama called *Thyestes at Sicyon*. The prepositional phrase in the title plainly indicates that he here dramatized some aspect or aspects of the later unsavory history of that prince, which related his violation of his own daughter, Pelopia, his imprisonment by Atreus, his discovery of Aegisthus as the son of the incest, and the vengeance on his brother by the instrumentality of Aegisthus. It is tempting to follow

<sup>1</sup> I, p. 92.

<sup>2</sup> If Thyestes was murdered by Atreus in the banquet-play, this detail was at variance with Sophocles' treatment of the legend in the other play or plays on Thyestes, which represented him as still living.

Welcker's<sup>1</sup> conjectural reconstruction, which would make the tragedy strikingly analogous to the *Oedipus King*. The will of Thyestes would be directed towards escaping the oracle according to which he must cohabit with his daughter in order to beget an avenger. The incest would then be unconscious, either an effort on the part of Thyestes to avoid the sin that he fears by rushing into a similar but less heinous crime, or one of the sardonic interpositions of fate championed by Müller. Hyginus, who is the chief source for the story,<sup>2</sup> says that Thyestes asked the king of Sicyon to send him back to the family hearth in Lydia, and Welcker surmises that Sophocles conceived this detail as another effort of Thyestes to avert the prophecy. If, as is supposed, Hyginus derives his account from Sophocles, a tragic sin is suggested by the statement that Thyestes felt himself, even before the assault, as too far polluted to approach the shrine of Athena. Would this be the stain of his old adultery with Aerope and the theft of the lamb, or is it some other innate weakness? Or was lust his failing, the lust that in the first play betrayed him into adultery and in the second into seduction of a young maiden? In both instances, at least, the fault finally provoked a catastrophe. On the whole, such a drama as Welcker has ideated would have interested Aristotle more than the episodes connected with the gruesome feast.<sup>3</sup> The events surrounding the murder of Atreus are relegated by the German critic<sup>4</sup> (evidently following Brunck<sup>5</sup>) to a second play called *Thyestes*, implied by three ancient references.<sup>6</sup> In such a second play, the suicide of Pelopia, on learning that she has been unwittingly a victim of incest, would constitute a parallel to Jocasta's death. Pearson tends to believe in only one play dealing with the vicissitudes of Thyestes after the banquet. Dindorf holds that the second *Thyestes* was merely a reëdition of the first. The field is open to almost any hypothesis.<sup>7</sup> Possibly the aims of Thyestes in the Sicyon tragedy were

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 367-368.

<sup>2</sup> Fab. 88.

<sup>3</sup> Pearson (I, p. 93) takes the opposite view.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 369. Pearson (I, p. 187) apparently wrongly interprets Welcker to mean that the second *Thyestes* treated the theme of Plisthenes.

<sup>5</sup> R. F. P. Brunck, Ed. of seven plays with fragments, Strassburg, 1788, vol. III, p. 413.

<sup>6</sup> Pearson, I, p. 91.

<sup>7</sup> The discussion has shown that, instead of three tragedies, the *Atreus* (banquet-play), the first *Thyestes* (at Sicyon), and the second *Thyestes*, there may have been

still the recovery of the kingdom of Mycenae and revenge. Did he recognize his daughter and purposely violate her in order to attain the promise of the oracle, and was this one of the obstacles that he dared to overstep on his way to the throne? Then, fragment 247,<sup>1</sup> which asserts that the gods must be obeyed, no matter how shameful their commands, might be placed in the mouth of Thyestes himself as an apology for his outrage; fragments 256<sup>2</sup> and 258<sup>3</sup> likewise might allude to the advisability of bowing to necessity. In any case, Hyginus says that, when Thyestes was later captured by the Atridae at Delphi, he had gone there to consult the priestess upon the means of punishing his brother. If Hyginus reflects Sophocles in representing Thyestes as reinstated at Mycenae after Aegisthus has assassinated Atreus, it is natural to think of Thyestes as finally purified, although, as for Oedipus, the process has required two or even three tragedies.

The very title of the 'Ελένης ἀπαίτησις proves that this play embodied the embassy of Menelaus and Odysseus to Troy, before the beleaguering of the city, in an attempt to obtain the surrender of Helen and thus prevent the war. The general tradition was that on this occasion the envoys were entertained by Antenor, the pacifist of the Trojan camp, and by Antenor's family. In view of the ordinary method of Sophocles, it is natural to think of Antenor as the protagonist, concentrating his will upon peace and upon hospitality towards the representatives of the Achaeans. Various details of the legend suggest the tests to which such a purpose might have been submitted. In the cause to which Antenor had consecrated himself, he carried his daring to such a degree that he allowed or prevailed upon his wife, Theano, to open the door of Athena's temple to Menelaus and Odysseus, and his sons to escort them. His unconcealed entertainment of them would have been another challenge hurled in the face of his compatriots. He would not have shrunk from the culminating test of rescuing them from murder at the hands of the Trojans.

Such an interpretation of the Sophoclean tragedy is strengthened

only two tragedies, the first *Thyestes* (identical with the *Atreus*) and the second *Thyestes*, containing all the later history of Thyestes.

<sup>1</sup> N. 226. The anthologist, Orion, in quoting this fragment (*Flor.*, 5, 10 in F. G. Schneidewin, *Coniectanea critica*, p. 47), definitely assigns it to the first *Thyestes*.

<sup>2</sup> N. 235.

<sup>3</sup> N. 237.

by the discovery of fragments of the dithyramb by Bacchylides which treats the same theme<sup>1</sup> and which includes those details of the story that tell of Theano's and the sons' participation. The dithyramb is likewise called 'Ελένης ἀπαίτησις, but the significant point is that it has as an alternative and indeed first mentioned title, 'Ἀντηνορίδαι. The inevitable conclusion is that, at least in the version of Bacchylides, the sons of Antenor performed an important service, though the fragments do not include its description. Since Bacchylides introduced the envoys before the Trojan assembly, did this service consist in saving them from the wrath of those who had listened to the Achaean pleas? The action of the sons presupposes Antenor as an agent, and indeed the Greek patronymic is sometimes loosely used to include the father or even the whole family or clan<sup>2</sup> as well as the sons, so that even in the dithyramb Antenor himself may have been prominent. The whole question becomes more interesting in light of the fact that Sophocles wrote a play called the 'Ἀντηνορίδαι, upon the content of which there is no direct testimony. Until the publication of Bacchylides, it had generally been held that this play comprised the tale of the sparing of Antenor by the Achaeans at the sack of Troy and his subsequent peregrinations, and this theory still has its adherents; but Blass,<sup>3</sup> Wilamowitz,<sup>4</sup> and Smyth<sup>5</sup> regard the double title of the dithyramb as evidence that the 'Ἀντηνορίδαι of Sophocles was only another appellation for the 'Ελένης ἀπαίτησις. Pearson is non-committal;<sup>6</sup> and Jebb<sup>7</sup> unnecessarily assumes that the identification implies a chorus of a portion of the numerous progeny usually accredited to

<sup>1</sup> R. C. Jebb, *Bacchylides, The Poems and Fragments*, Cambridge, 1905, no. xiv.

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus in the Fifth Book seems to use the term *Pisistratidae* in the sense of the whole faction in favor of the tyranny. For a discussion of the practice of extending the patronymic to include father and sons, cf. R. Förster, *Philologische Parerga zum Laokoon, Verhandlungen der vierzigsten Versammlung deutscher Philologen in Görlitz*, 1889, pp. 435-436. Förster definitely adduces the case of the word 'Ἀντηνορίδαι as one of his instances, pointing particularly to an example in Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.*, 1, 46).

<sup>3</sup> F. Blass, *Bacchylidis Carmina*, Leipzig, 1898, p. lviii.

<sup>4</sup> U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, review of Kenyon's publication of Bacchylides, *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1898, p. 134.

<sup>5</sup> H. W. Smyth, *Greek Melic Poets*, London, 1900, p. 429.

<sup>6</sup> I, pp. 86-89.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 220, note 1.

Antenor, whereas the title does not really mean any more than that two or more of the sons acted leading rôles. An acceptance of the double Sophoclean title not only helps to illumine the shadowy and much disputed origins of Greek tragedy by providing a concrete historical instance of a dithyramb that may later have been developed into a tragedy, in case Bacchylides wrote his poem before Sophocles composed his play;<sup>1</sup> but it also virtually forces us to assign the chief part in the action to Antenor or his sons. If Antenor was subordinate, the sons, following the policy of their father, would have proved triumphant over the trials of their wills; and it is always possible that both Bacchylides and Sophocles merely represented parent and sons as working for the same end in conjunction.

The mode in which Sophocles treated the theft of the Palladium in the *Laconian Women* is too obscure to permit a decision as to whether in this play he went farther and utilized that version of the myth which considered Antenor actually guilty of treachery.

The outlines of the *Hermione* of Sophocles are definitely sketched for us by a scholium on the *Odyssey*, 4, 4, by the somewhat ampler statement of Eustathius,<sup>2</sup> and by a scholium on the *Orestes* of Euripides, 1655. Hermione, who had been married by Tyndareus to Orestes, was afterwards handed over by her father, Menelaus, to Neoptolemus. The latter betakes himself to Delphi to avenge himself on Apollo for his father's death, or (if the scholium on Euripides applies in this detail) to question the god about the childlessness of his wife. Involved in a quarrel with the priests of Phoebus, he is slain by one of them, Machaereus, and Hermione is restored to her cousin. If Sophocles observed his habit of naming a play after the protagonist, it is permissible to conjecture that the central *motif* was the constancy of Hermione to Orestes, tested by the various ordeals of her life with Neoptolemus. The same relation would thus have existed between the *Hermione* of Sophocles and the *Hermione* of Euripides' *Andro-*

<sup>1</sup> It is, of course, possible, as Blass suggests (*op. cit.*, p. lviii), that the double title was first applied to the work of Sophocles and then on this precedent used of the dithyramb; but the question of titles has no bearing upon the comparative chronology. In any case, the fact that the name 'Αργοπόλεις could be applied to the dithyramb is conclusive proof of the prominence of Antenor and his family in the version of Bacchylides.

<sup>2</sup> *Od.*, p. 1479.

*mache* as between the two Electras: as Euripides derogates from his Electra in order to rehabilitate Clytaemnestra, so his Hermione is a fiend compared to the character that may be attributed to the Sophoclean heroine.

On the other hand, a play with Neoptolemus as protagonist would perhaps have conformed better to the dramatic structure of Sophocles. There are many details in the legendary history of Neoptolemus that Sophocles might have taken as evidence of the frequent tragic sin of quickness to wrath — his slaughter of Priam, Polyxena, and (according to some authorities) of Astyanax, the violent seizure of Hermione that Ovid<sup>1</sup> ascribes to him, his eagerness to retaliate on Apollo for the death of Achilles, and his bloody dispute with the priests at Delphi, whatever may have been its cause. The impulsiveness of the youth in the *Philoctetes* would have degenerated into choler and even vindictiveness. His animosity against Apollo and Apollo's servants carried with it the other tragic sins of *ὕβρις* and sacrilege. Strabo<sup>2</sup> says that he actually attacked the temple. Euripides, in the *Andromache*,<sup>3</sup> speaks of an earlier journey to Delphi to overthrow the temple; but in accordance with the generally noble character that he lends to Neoptolemus in this play, he assigns as a reason for the second fatal journey the hero's desire to expiate his former impiety. A scholium on Pindar's Paean to the Delphians, published in the Oxyrhynchus Papyri,<sup>4</sup> suggests that in one version of the tale he tried to steal from the treasures of the temple in order to exact payment for the undoing of his father. The natural conclusion would be that Sophocles conceived his will as concentrated upon paternal vengeance and that the scholiast on the *Orestes* of Euripides (1655) is not referring to the Sophoclean play in the phrases in which he alleges that Neoptolemus went to Delphi to consult the oracle about Hermione's barrenness, although the desire for offspring may have been a subsidiary purpose or a cloak for his real purpose. One of the obstacles that he would have had to overcome would be the antagonism of Machaereus and the other priests. Even Müller's theory of the interference of fate may be dragged into service, for the visit to Delphi, instead of resulting as Neoptolemus had planned, proved to be the occasion of his death.

<sup>1</sup> *Her.*, 8, 10.

<sup>2</sup> 421.

<sup>3</sup> 50 ff., 1094, and 1095.

<sup>4</sup> V, p. 47.

The *Euryalus* belongs to the group of plays connected with the history of Odysseus, but no purificatory sequence can be discerned. The title of the first of the group, the 'Οδυσσεὺς μανῆμενος, reveals that the substance was the pretence of madness to evade military service. Perhaps the development was somewhat like that of the *Philoctetes*: Odysseus may have been intent on eluding participation in the Trojan expedition, though not for so noble a reason as Philoctetes, and may have yielded only at the end. The *Nausicaa* or ΙΙλιοντριαί was related to the group in much the same way as the *Andromeda* to the Perseus-sequence. May one hazard the guess that the drama was built up around the undaunted friendliness of the maiden, who meets the first test of the sight of the dishevelled stranger and does not flee, who continues graciously to perform the duties of hospitality, perhaps against the advice of her more prudish and timorous companions, and finally does not scruple to introduce him into her father's house? The subject of the *Phaeacians* is unknown. If it was really one of this cycle, the title may even have formed an additional alternative appellation for the *Nausicaa*. The plot of the *Euryalus*, we are told by Eustathius,<sup>1</sup> had to do with the tragic history of this son who was born to Odysseus, after the return from his wanderings, as a result of a *liaison* with the Thesprotian princess, Eupipe, and who, according to Parthenius,<sup>2</sup> through the machinations of Penelope, was unwittingly slain by his father. Eustathius names Telemachus as the murderer of Euryalus, but there is no reason to think that this important variation is derived from the Sophoclean version. J. Vürtheim<sup>3</sup> seeks to establish a relationship between the *Euryalus* and the last play of the group, the 'Οδυσσεὺς ἀκαθοπλήξ, by suggesting that the assassination of one son by Odysseus in the former piece justifies his own assassination by another son, Telegonus, in the latter; but even if true, such a conception has nothing to do with a purificatory sequence, especially in view of the fact that both homicides are committed under misapprehensions.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Od.*, p. 1796.

<sup>2</sup> *Amatoriae Narrationes*, 3.

<sup>3</sup> *De Eugammonis Telegonia, Mnemosyne*, XXIX (1901), p. 57.

<sup>4</sup> We might find a purificatory sequence if we could follow J. N. Svoronos (*Ulysse chez les Arcadiens et la Télégonie d'Eugammon*, *Gazette Archéologique*, XIII, 1888, pp. 270 ff.) who believes that Sophocles represented Odysseus in the ἀκαθοπλήξ

The present investigation need not concern itself with the questions whether the Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀκανθοτλῆς and the Νίττρα were different names for the same drama, or how, if, as is likely, there was only one play, the subject of the recognition in a bath by the nurse Euryclea, implied in the second title, was yoked to the theme of Odysseus' death. It is the latter theme, embodied in the first title, that bears upon our purpose. The references to Dodona in the fragments indicate that Sophocles introduced the oracle prophesying that Odysseus should be slain by his own son, and it is natural to think that he likewise stressed the version of the myth which represented Odysseus avoiding and guarding himself against Telemachus as the son from whom danger was to be apprehended. The whole action would thus prove similar to that of the *Oedipus King*.<sup>1</sup> The will of Odysseus would be focused upon averting his presaged death. The general test to which he would have had to submit would be the necessity of cutting himself off from the companionship of his beloved son, Telemachus. If Ribbeck<sup>2</sup> rightly supposes that he returned from Dodona in disguise in order to be protected against every possibility of the fulfilment of the oracle,<sup>3</sup> and that the Νίττρα section consisted in his recognition by Euryclea at this time and the imposition upon her of a command to secrecy, then the humiliation of the disguise would have constituted the first phase of the general test. The development may have represented other attempts to shun Telemachus. The Argument to the *Odyssey* published by Buttmann from a Palatine manuscript<sup>4</sup> contains a description of the death which may reflect the catastrophe of the Sophoclean tragedy and would then have included the culminating phase of the general test. Telegonus, the son by Circe, unexpectedly arrives at night to reveal himself to his father; Odysseus, fearing that it is an attack by Telemachus, conquers his paternal instinct so

as punished for his crimes in the *Philocleis*! But this is wild conjecture and not the only piece of extravagance in Svoronos' article.

<sup>1</sup> Pearson himself (II, p. 109, n. 4) points out the parallelism between the shunning of Telemachus and Oedipus' flight from Corinth.

<sup>2</sup> Otto Ribbeck, *Die Römische Tragödie*, Leipzig, 1875, p. 273.

<sup>3</sup> Pearson (II, p. 109) observes, however, that such a procedure might prove "the most likely method of incurring the very danger which he was anxious to avoid."

<sup>4</sup> W. Dindorf, *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Odysseam*, Oxford, 1855, I, p. 6.

far as to arm himself and rush upon him, but in the confusion is not recognized and falls beneath his spear. Since the spear was fitted with a point made from the *ἄκανθα* (spike or prickle) of the fish called the roach, Odysseus thus realized the title of the play, *ἄκανθων λήξ*; and for this reason, as well as because Telegonus had sailed to Ithaca, he fulfilled the other, earlier prophecy that the source of his death should come from the sea.<sup>1</sup> As the determination of Oedipus finally results in the discovery of himself as the culprit, so the persistence of Odysseus in forestalling any patricidal attempt on the part of the son whom he suspects becomes, through the operation of fate, the cause of his dissolution.

From the papyrus fragments that have restored to us scenes from a Sophoclean play treating the death of Eurypylus at the hands of Neoptolemus (whether or not it went by the title of *Eurypylus*), the only fact that emerges apposite to our present purpose is a possible tragic sin of the mother of the Trojan champion, Astyoche. In lines 40 ff. of the fragment that Pearson numbers 210, she clearly reiterates that her son's death came to her as a punishment, and in line 41 the chorus agree with her.<sup>2</sup> Sophocles probably had in mind the tradition that, like a less heinous Eriphyle, she had been bribed to allow Eurypylus to go to the war by Priam's gift of his ancestral possession, the golden vine.

<sup>1</sup> If we accept the more usual interpretation of the *εἰς ἀλός* of *Od.* 11, 134, instead of "remote from the sea."

<sup>2</sup> The reading and interpretation of line 46 are too uncertain to have any bearing upon the question of the attitude of the chorus on this point. Pearson's reading can mean only: "Fortune hath unjustly (*οὐ δίκη*) shorn thee." He elucidates the earlier application of the word *δίκη* to Astyoche by the chorus as signifying that punishment (not justice) will be visited upon her, so that I suppose that he would construe the sense of the chorus in line 46 to be that Astyoche is unjustly punished. In any case, punishment implies a sin (unless its meaning be weakened to mere maltreatment), and it is hard to see in what way "unjustly" could have been applied to the fate of Astyoche. Hunt (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. IX, p. 120) and Wilamowitz read and explain line 46 to mean: "Fortune has shorn thee but judges thee not." I have difficulty in understanding just what such a statement on the part of the chorus would imply; but since Hunt resorts to this reading in order to avoid the contradiction involved in Pearson's text, he evidently believes that in line 41 the chorus intend to say that Astyoche is chastised by Justice. Line 45 proves that Astyoche, at least, was conscious of retribution.

Although the fragments of the *Thamyras* shed no light upon the questions that we are now examining, the title itself is illuminating. It was the universal tradition that the bard had incurred the envy of heaven by daring to measure himself with the Muses. In line 917 of the *Rhesus* the word *τέρπειν* is actually used of his sin. Sophocles may very well have represented Thamyras throughout the play as intent upon proving his musical and poetic skill. The proposition of a contest with the Muses would have been the supreme trial of this purpose; and the result, once more, by the interference of fate, is a catastrophe rather than a victory. The final scene, especially, which depicted the protagonist stricken with blindness and sorrow, must have been closely parallel to that of the *Oedipus King*.

The *Kaupikoi* contained the story of Minos' discovery of Daedalus at Camicus by the trick of the threaded shell and of Daedalus' escape by provoking the murder of Minos in a bath of boiling water or pitch. If Daedalus was the protagonist, we have the authority of Photius<sup>1</sup> for the fact that Sophocles ascribed to him a crime that may have been a concrete illustration of a tragic defect of character. The crime was the one of which the general mythological tradition accused Daedalus, the murder of his nephew Perdix,<sup>2</sup> and the defect of character would have been jealousy, in this instance of the younger man's skill. It is not possible, however, to discover whether Sophocles represented Daedalus as in any way purified or punished.

The *Colchian Women*, the *Root-gatherers*, and the *Scythians* treated the story of Jason and Medea, but the evidence is not sufficient to indicate a purificatory sequence. The first play represented the vicissitudes of Jason in Colchis. It may be surmised that his will was centered upon obtaining the Golden Fleece and that the tests consisted of the trials which Aeetes forced him to undergo. As a culminating test, he would have carried his determination so far as to plot the murder of Medea's brother, Apsyrtus, or at least to consent to the crime. The subject of the *Root-gatherers* seems to have been the destruction of Pelias by his daughters through the attempted rejuvenation at the instigation of Medea. The title shows that the chorus

<sup>1</sup> *Lex.*, p. 413, II.

<sup>2</sup> Another mythological tradition calls him Talos or Calos, and bestows the name of Perdix upon his mother.

comprised those who assisted Medea or the Peliades in the plucking of magical herbs. It is natural to think of Pelias as the protagonist, stained as he was with a sin of omission or sacrilege against Hera and characterized, according to the general tradition, by the defect of cruelty, which had manifested itself recently in the extermination of Jason's whole family. He would have been bent upon outwitting the repatriated Jason. He may have considered the recovery of his youthful vigor a means to this end, and so, as a final test, he would have submitted to the ordeal of the cauldron. Sophocles may have followed the version of the myth that conceived the outraged Hera to have been the original promoter of the voyage to Colchis in order to bring back Medea as the instrument of vengeance upon Pelias. If so, the idea of retribution for a tragic sin would here be very striking. Pelias was intent upon the rejuvenation, but once again fate interfered to change the result of his perilous experiment into disaster. There is not enough agreement among scholars in regard to the substance of the third play, the *Scythians*, to afford a basis even for hypothesis.

The general voice of mythical tradition ascribed to Laocoön, the protagonist of Sophocles' tragedy of the same name, the tragic sin of sacrilege or of *ὕβρις* against heaven and so justified his horrible fate; but accounts varied as to the exact nature of the misdeed. Some said that he had aroused the despite of Apollo, either through disobedience or through profanation of a temple. According to others, Athena was his enemy. Virgil<sup>1</sup> says that he had incurred her ire by piercing with a spear the wooden horse that she intended to be the means of bestowing the victory upon her beloved Greeks. It is doubtful, however, whether a dramatist would have considered Laocoön's patriotic distrust of the wooden horse as criminal. Perhaps the casting of the spear was looked upon as an unnecessarily violent demonstration of this distrust and as a final manifestation of an old and deep-seated velleity to fierce passion and *ὕβρις*. It is even possible that Sophocles did not, from any standpoint, judge the performance to deserve punishment but simply utilized it as the direct occasion of Athena's immediate wrath and of the consequent visitation of the serpents, and that he sought the real reason for the catastrophe in past transgressions. With so many choices the exact crime is difficult to select. Karl

<sup>1</sup> *Aen.* 2, 229-231.

Robert,<sup>1</sup> who guesses that the scene of the punishment was the temple of Apollo Thymbraeus, decides on the crime of profanation, on the ground that the dramatists liked to depict the guilty as paying the penalty in the same spot in which they had erred. Pearson<sup>2</sup> finds the early offenses of Laocoön "too remote" to have served as a proper reason for chastisement and ascribes to the protagonist a general arrogance of temperament, of which he, too, believes that the hurling of the spear may have been an expression.

The will of Laocoön may very well have been directed towards saving his compatriots from the menace of the wooden horse. If the *Bibliotheca* that goes under the name of Apollodorus reflects Sophocles, the fact that the two extant epitomes of the last books of that work<sup>3</sup> mention a speech of Laocoön against the reception of the horse would indicate that one of the tests was such a rhetorical debate with his opponents as is embodied in the dispute between the heroine and Clytaemnestra in the *Electra*.<sup>4</sup> Finally, to demonstrate his countrymen's infatuation, he dared even the apparent sacrilege of casting a spear at the equestrian image which purported to be hallowed to Athena. But fate again takes up the skeins, and makes this act, not the method of Troy's deliverance, but the immediate cause of his own ruin.

Sophocles must have taken a peculiar delight in dramatizing the tale of Polyidus in the play of that name, which had as an alternative title, *Márrēs*, for it adapted itself very prettily to his system of construction on a framework of tests. The first test over which Polyidus was victorious in proving his gift of divination was probably the obligation of solving the riddle about the cow of Minos which had the chameleon-like trick of changing color three times a day. The second was the necessity of discovering the lost corpse of the son of Minos, Glaucus. The third and severest ordeal was the restoration of the body to life. Perhaps fragment 397,<sup>5</sup> which refers to achievement only by hard effort, was applied to the triumphal vindication of

<sup>1</sup> *Bild und Lied*, Berlin, 1881, p. 200.

<sup>2</sup> II, p. 41. The offenses of Laocoön are no more "remote" than those of Ajax against the gods in the extant tragedy.

<sup>3</sup> 5, 17 (*Mythographi Graeci*, I).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. my article, p. 82.

<sup>5</sup> N. 365. Such must be the meaning of the line, whatever the correct reading.

Polyidus' supernatural powers by the ordeals through which he had to pass.

There is little room for doubt that Sophocles in his *Meleager*<sup>1</sup> followed closely the Homeric version.<sup>2</sup> This material must have appealed to him strongly, not only because, like that of the *Polyidus*, it presented a series of tests, ready-made, but also because it concerned itself with one of those sulking heroes, such as Philoctetes and Achilles, whom he enjoyed bringing into the theatre. The section of the story chosen for representation must have been that in which the protagonist, in high disdain at his mother, had withdrawn from the leadership in the war against the Curetes, for a scholium on the line of the *Iliad*<sup>3</sup> that speaks of an embassy of priests beseeching him to return to the front definitely states that Sophocles formed his chorus of this delegation. He excluded from the action itself the whole episode of the boar and Meleager's slaughter of his uncle or uncles; and he followed the usual Greek tragic practice of representing only the events immediately connected with the catastrophe.<sup>4</sup> The tests of Meleager's determination to remain inactive were probably constituted of all or some of the six separate attempts to recall him to his duty enumerated in Homer's account: he is there subjected to the entreaties of the elders, the priests,<sup>5</sup> Oeneus,<sup>6</sup> his sisters,<sup>7</sup> his mother,<sup>8</sup> and his comrades.<sup>9</sup> As Philoctetes begins to weaken before the ingenuous nobility of Neoptolemus, so Meleager, after the fashion intimated in the *Iliad*,<sup>10</sup> may have been shaken by the simple and loving solicitude of his wife;<sup>11</sup> as Heracles completes the transformation inaugurated by Neoptolemus, so the advance of the enemy to the very door of Meleager may have lent convincing force to his wife's words.

But he saves Calydon from the Curetes, only himself immediately or eventually to perish. What was the tragic sin to justify this doom?

<sup>1</sup> For the evidence, see Pearson, II, pp. 64-66.

<sup>2</sup> *Il.*, 9, 529-599.

<sup>3</sup> 575.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. my article on the *Dramatic Art of Aeschylus*, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XVI (1905), pp. 22-24.

<sup>5</sup> 574-575.

<sup>6</sup> 584.

<sup>7</sup> 585.

<sup>8</sup> 581.

<sup>9</sup> 584.

<sup>10</sup> 590 ff.

<sup>11</sup> The strength of Meleager's will is perhaps to be inferred from the fact that the second account in Apollodorus, which probably reflects Sophocles (cf. below), states that he was persuaded with difficulty (*μέλας*).

Surely that testiness which Homer mentions thrice<sup>1</sup> as occasioning his retirement from the battle and which was usually considered to have spurred him on to slay his mother's brother or brothers.<sup>2</sup> The second version of the myth given in the *Bibliotheca* attributed to Apollodorus<sup>3</sup> uses the participle *δρυγιδημένον* in explanation of Meleager's retirement. This allusion to Meleager's wrath is peculiarly apposite, since the presence of a few modifications of the Homeric account may indicate that the author of the *Bibliotheca* was here following a dramatic adaptation of the passage in the *Iliad*, and since a process of exclusion almost narrows us down to the belief that this adaptation was the work of Sophocles. Another epic tradition<sup>4</sup> declared that Meleager was killed by Apollo. If Sophocles accepted this, he may have conceived of the vengeance of Apollo as prompted also by some sacrilege; or the god may have been merely the instrument of his sister Artemis, who visits the sin of the father, Oeneus, upon the son. In the latter instance, as in the *Laocoön*, it would be only the constitutional defect of anger that really deserved punishment, and the operation of Apollo and Artemis would be nothing more than the fortuitous occasion of the disaster.

The mere mention of the title *Niobe* at once implies as a basis for Sophocles' tragedy one of the most celebrated instances of *έργα* included in Greek mythology. The only point that needs comment is that, in a fragment of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri<sup>5</sup> which has been generally assigned to this play, the speaker, who is probably Niobe's father, Tantalus, definitely states the tragic sin, if we accept Pearson's restoration, in connection with a description of the resulting catastrophe:

ἢ θεῖστιν ξμολεν εἰς ἐκουσίους μάχας.

<sup>1</sup> 553, 565, and 566. The tale of Meleager is introduced into the *Iliad* as an example of sulkiness keeping a warrior from the fight, and he is compared to Achilles.

<sup>2</sup> Ovid, in describing this episode (*Metam.*, 8, 437), applies to Meleager the phrase *tumida frendens ira*. Although Sophocles excluded the murder of the uncle or uncles from the action itself, it may very well have been mentioned in the play and ascribed to Meleager's hot temper. The murderer is referred to in the second account of Apollodorus, which is supposed to be derived from Sophocles.

<sup>3</sup> I, 72-73.

<sup>4</sup> Pearson, II, p. 65.

<sup>5</sup> Pearson, fr. 574.

On grounds that do not seem to me at all conclusive, Pearson<sup>1</sup> takes the fragment, which narrates the stony fate of Niobe, out of its natural connection and accredits it to the *Tantalus*; but even if it belonged to the *Tantalus*, it would have significance as embodying, at least in another play, Sophocles' explicit realization of the tragic sin in the protagonist of the *Niobe*. To Tantalus himself various manifestations of arrogance against heaven were attributed. The appearance of the name of Hermes in fragment 573<sup>2</sup> of the *Tantalus* of Sophocles suggests that one of the transgressions adduced by our dramatist was his perjured denial to that god of complicity in the theft of the Cretan dog of Zeus. To the modern reader this seems a comparatively light offense; and Sophocles himself may very well have included such other iniquities as the repast on his son, Pelops, or the stealing of the nectar and ambrosia.

Aristotle's allusion to the *Peleus*<sup>3</sup> as one of the two typical examples of a tragedy of character makes it particularly regrettable that so little is known of the play. The mention of the protagonist as an old man in fragment 487<sup>4</sup> shows that the action dealt with the miseries resulting from his dethronement and expulsion from Phthia by Acastus. Was it his old sin of collusion in the murder of his brother Phocus for which he was paying the price? Was his earlier purification

<sup>1</sup> II, p. 97. He believes that the speech of Tantalus at the end of the *Niobe* would imply the anomaly of a kind of epilogue, in which the scene was changed from Thebes, the seat of the tragedy, to Lydia, the home of Tantalus, and that even the chorus would have thus to be conceived as transported across the sea. But he himself acknowledges that a theophany may be postulated in order to relate to the audience that final removal of Niobe to Lydia which is stated to have been a part of the Sophoclean play both in a scholium on the *Iliad*, 24, 602, and in Eustathius (*Il.*, p. 1367, 22). May not Tantalus have been the personage who appeared at Thebes in the conclusion through supernatural agency, and performed the office of a kind of *deus ex machina*, describing particularly the ultimate fate of his daughter? Tantalus was certainly a character in the *Niobe* of Aeschylus (cf. Nauck, frs. 158 and 159), there bemoaning his own lot as in the Sophoclean papyrus fragment; and there is no reason that he should not have indulged in self-commiseration, as a secondary issue, also in the Sophoclean tragedy of the same name.

<sup>2</sup> Not in Nauck.

<sup>3</sup> *Poetics*, 18, 1456 a1. By general consent, the reference is to the Sophoclean *Peleus* rather than the Euripidean.

<sup>4</sup> N. 447.

from this crime at the hands of Eurytion only partial, and like another Oedipus at Colonus, was he now working out his final salvation? Such a reconstruction of the moral development of the *Peleus* would receive some confirmation, if we accept the theory of Ahrens<sup>1</sup> in regard to the substance of the *Phthiotides*, and consider it to have been the first member of a purificatory sequence of which the *Peleus* was the second. No material exists even to suggest the contents of the *Phthiotides*, except that the title and the coupling of this tragedy and the *Peleus* by Aristotle as instances of dramas based upon character indicate that it had something to do with the Aeacidae of Phthia. Ahrens has as much right as any one else to a guess; he surmises that the play treated the arrival of Peleus at Phthia for purification from the assassination of his brother, his marriage to the princess of Phthia, Antigone, his unintentional murder of his father-in-law, Eurytion, his resort to the court of Acastus at Iolcos, his rejection of the improper proposals of the wife of Acastus, Astydamia, and the malicious message of Astydamia to Antigone, stating that Peleus was to marry the daughter of Acastus, Sterope, and thus causing Antigone to hang herself in despair. This conjecture as to the theme of the *Phthiotides* and my own theory as to the moral interpretation of the *Peleus* are mutually corroborative. If the *Phthiotides* thus concerned itself with Peleus' strength of will and purification, it would certainly conform to Aristotle's classification among the tragedies of character. Ahrens believes that directions for purification are embodied in fragment 694 of the *Phthiotides*:<sup>2</sup>

νέος πέφυκας· πολλὰ καὶ μαθεῖν σε δεῖ,  
καὶ πόλλ' ἀκοῦσαι καὶ διδάσκεσθαι μακρά.<sup>3</sup>

He himself points out the analogy of the divine injunctions to Oedipus at Colonus; but if there was a purificatory sequence, it would be more exact to compare the *Peleus* to the *Oedipus Coloneus*. The return of Neoptolemus and his restoration of his grandfather to honor would

<sup>1</sup> Didot publication of *Sophoclis Tragoediae et Perditarum Fragmenta*, 2d ed., Paris, 1864, p. 287.

<sup>2</sup> N. 632.

<sup>3</sup> Ahrens seems to refer this fragment to the purification of Peleus from the involuntary assassination of Eurytion; but Sophocles' words might as well apply to purification from the voluntary assassination of Phocus.

take the place of the apotheosis of Oedipus. The marriage to Thetis in the interval between the periods of time covered by the *Phthiotides* and the *Peleus* may have been viewed by Sophocles, according to the general mythological tradition, as a heavenly reward for the hero's chastity, and it thus might have signified for the dramatist one of the earlier steps in the purification.

The story of Cycnus, the son of Poseidon, which occupied at least one section of the *Iloukteres*, afforded Sophocles another example of a military hero punished for arrogance. Pearson<sup>1</sup> himself points out that fragment 501<sup>2</sup> clearly indicates his boastful nature and that fragment 507<sup>3</sup> may possibly be interpreted in the same way. His doom was death at the hands of Achilles.

If one reads the account of Sinon's ruse in Quintus Smyrnaeus,<sup>4</sup> keeping in mind the Sophoclean method of obtaining unity by representing the will of the protagonist as constantly centered upon one purpose, he can scarcely resist the conclusion that the epic poet based his narrative largely upon the tragic writer's lost play named after the wily Greek. Quintus almost overdoes the emphasis upon Sinon's undaunted determination to trick the enemy. The Greek stands "steadfast as a rock" with "unyielding limbs"<sup>5</sup> against the torture that would test his truthfulness. He has mustered in his heart<sup>6</sup> the great endurance (*κάπρος*) that Hera has breathed into it.<sup>7</sup> His spirit is firm,<sup>8</sup> unbroken by the suffering,<sup>9</sup> since it is the part of a strong man to sustain evil necessity.<sup>10</sup> The account of Quintus seems even to suggest the succession of the Sophoclean episodes, each one embodying a new test of the protagonist's determination. First, Sinon has to maintain his plan of deceit against the friendly questions of the Trojans.<sup>11</sup> Next, it is to their threats that he has to submit,<sup>12</sup> and finally to torture by actual mutilation.<sup>13</sup> Since no very definite reconstruction of the *Sinon* has hitherto been attempted, this tragedy provides a

<sup>1</sup> II, p. 149.

<sup>5</sup> 365-366.

<sup>9</sup> 387.

<sup>2</sup> N. 460.

<sup>6</sup> 370.

<sup>10</sup> 388.

<sup>3</sup> N. 466.

<sup>7</sup> 373.

<sup>11</sup> 362-363.

<sup>4</sup> 12, 360 ff.

<sup>8</sup> 371-372.

<sup>12</sup> 363-364. Virgil (*Aen.* 2, 64) applies the verb *includere* to the Trojan treatment of Sinon, and he calls him *fidens animi* and ready to meet even death in his undertaking (61-62).

<sup>13</sup> 364 ff.

striking exemplification of the way in which a consideration of the principles of Sophocles' dramatic art may determine, when other evidence fails, the substance of the plot of a lost play and the course of the development. The *Sinon* that Aristotle himself, or some later interpolator<sup>1</sup> in the text of the *Poetics*, adduces as one of the dramas drawn from the *Little Iliad* is generally held to be the work of Sophocles. It is always possible that Quintus depended upon the *Little Iliad* rather than upon the play, but in that case the passage in the cyclic epic must already have been so Sophoclean in its structure that there would have been little for the tragic poet to change.

The ordinary custom of Sophocles in titles would suggest that Tereus was the protagonist in the play named after him. His tragic sin would have consisted of his definite crime of adultery. But Procne had certainly exhibited savagery in her retaliation. Fragment 589<sup>2</sup> plainly states that the remedy of the sisters was worse than the ill that they sought to cure; and fragment 590,<sup>3</sup> containing what are probably the concluding anapaests and ultimate moral of the drama, applies rather to the wife than to the husband in its solemn declaration that vengeance belongs to Zeus.

The first *Tyro* of Sophocles seems to have been similar in subject and treatment to the extant *Electra*. The theme of the second *Tyro* is not known; it may have been merely a revision of the first. Since a line of the second *Tyro* is quoted in the *Birds*, it probably should be assigned to the years immediately before the date of the comedy, 414 B.C. The likelihood would be that the first *Tyro* was not brought out much earlier, and it therefore may be placed in the period from 420 to 415 B.C. The interesting fact is that the analogous *Electra* is usually ascribed roughly to the decade 420-410 B.C., even if it be conceived as subsequent to the Euripidean play of the same name. The hypothetical dating of either tragedy of Sophocles would thus corroborate that of the other.

Like *Electra*, *Tyro* is a derelict in the house of cruel relatives who maltreat her. The place of the stepfather Aegisthus as the chief tormentor is taken by the stepmother Sidero. Pollux<sup>4</sup> definitely states that the *Tyro* of Sophocles was buffeted black and blue by her step-

<sup>1</sup> 23, 1459b7.

<sup>2</sup> N. 531.

<sup>3</sup> N. 530.

<sup>4</sup> *Onomasticon*, 4, 141.

mother, so that the protagonist had to use a special mask to make visible to the audience the results of the blows. The beauty of Electra is also marred and even calls forth an exclamation of angry remonstrance from her brother.<sup>1</sup> The actual fragments of the *Tyro* contain several references to the indignities to which the protagonist has been subjected. She has been sheared of that luxuriance of hair which was renowned in ancient tradition.<sup>2</sup> Fragments 661<sup>3</sup> and 663<sup>4</sup> seem to belong to her self-commiseration; even the language of the latter,

*τίκτουσι γάρ τοι καὶ νόσους δυσθυμίας,*

is surprisingly parallel to that with which the chorus describes Electra,

*σῷ δυσθυμῷ τίκτουσ' ἀελ  
ψυχᾶ πολέμους.<sup>5</sup>*

If the bits of papyrus included under fragment 649 in Pearson really belong to the *Tyro*, perhaps he is right in discerning in lines 42 ff. a further lament of the heroine for her ill-usage. We may imagine the will of Tyro as centered, like that of Electra, upon vengeance and upon obduracy under her persecution. The *dénouement* was achieved in very much the same way as in the *Electra*: her children, who had been exposed, return, are recognized by their mother, and avenge her by slaying Sidero. The scholium on the *Orestes* of Euripides, 1691, which states that the *ἀναγνωρισμός* took place at the conclusion of the play, is very significant, for it proves that, as in the *Electra*,<sup>6</sup> the solace of the protagonist was postponed until the end in order that her will might be tested to the uttermost.

One is left to conjecture whether Sophocles found a tragic sin in Tyro's *liaison* with Poseidon, from which her children were born. Are we to discern an apology for her in fragment 665,<sup>7</sup> which voices the sentiment that involuntary sin is not culpable? Welcker<sup>8</sup> places it in the mouth of Tyro but considers it an excuse for the exposition of the infants under the command of Poseidon. On the basis of Pearson's theory that Sophocles conceived her marriage with her uncle

<sup>1</sup> *El.*, 1181.

<sup>4</sup> *El.*, 218-219.

<sup>2</sup> Fr. 659; N. 598.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. my article on Sophocles, p. 73.

<sup>3</sup> N. 600.

<sup>6</sup> N. 604.

<sup>4</sup> N. 602.

<sup>7</sup> See p. 315.

Cretheus as subsequent to her vindication at the end of the play,<sup>1</sup> the nuptials may have constituted a concrete symbol of her purification, if the dramatist represented her as guilty.

The *Phaedra* of Sophocles is unfortunately little more than a name to us. The rather copious fragments throw no light upon the subject of the present investigation, except that number 680,<sup>2</sup> if assigned to the protagonist,<sup>3</sup> would embody an appeal for condonement on the ground that the love for Hippolytus was the visitation of some god. Was Phaedra conceived as an essentially noble personage ruined by the defect of a fortuitous passion that was not characteristic of her fundamental nature? Or was she essentially base, and did the play therefore represent merely the richly deserved punishment of a criminal?

Both of the tragedies to which the title of *Phineus* was given provide an instance of a protagonist suffering for his guilt. A scholium on Apollonius Rhodius, 2, 178, plainly declares that Phineus was himself deprived of sight because he had blinded his sons. The strife within the family was the theme of the first *Phineus*.<sup>4</sup> The fact of the tragic sin is apparent, whether the statement is understood in the literal sense of the father's own execution of the bloody task, or whether, according to the version that Sophocles himself adopts in the fourth stasimon of the *Antigone*,<sup>5</sup> he merely shared in the crime by allowing his second wife, Idaea, to perpetrate the mutilation of her stepsons. The assault upon the sons may have carried with it the maltreatment of their mother, his first wife, Cleopatra, if Sophocles represented her as surviving but divorced and imprisoned by her husband in order to facilitate his second marriage. Phineus may have been treated also as a victim of some of the other shortcomings that ancient tradition ascribed to him, such as his insult to Apollo by preferring the loss of light to death and his impiety in abusing his gift of divination. If the wrath of Apollo was a *motif*, it would have appeared in the second play, which depicted the Argonauts' rescue of Phineus from the persecution of the Harpies, for the version that alludes to Apollo makes him the sender of the unclean birds. The old sufferer

<sup>1</sup> II, p. 273.

<sup>4</sup> For the evidence, see Pearson, II, p. 313.

<sup>2</sup> N. 619.

<sup>5</sup> 973 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Welcker, p. 398.

was probably shown as purified by affliction. One critic, G. Wolff,<sup>1</sup> actually adduces that very parallel of the *Oedipus Coloneus* which has been so often employed in the present article for the study of lost tragedies. May we suppose that in the second *Phineus*, as in the *Oedipus Coloneus*, the will of the protagonist was centered upon reconciliation with heaven? In any case, the first and second *Phineus* seem to have formed a purificatory sequence.

This review of the non-extant plays apposite to our investigation can hardly be interpreted otherwise than as corroboratory of the structural methods exhibited by Sophocles in the seven tragedies that we possess. The scantiness of the material permits categorical assertions in regard to only a few of the lost dramas; but in many other cases there is a high degree of probability that the same structural principles were utilized, and in a large number of instances there exists at least a possibility. One example of probability or possibility would not have much force, but the multiplication of such examples constitutes cumulative evidence almost, if not quite, as cogent as absolute fact. Every instance of probability or possibility approaches the nearer to certainty by each addition of a similar case. The concentration and testing of the will are more difficult to demonstrate than other phases of Sophoclean art, because they would be revealed only by a detailed knowledge of the plot or by the possession of a considerable portion of the text. In plays, however, like the *Teucer*, the *Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀκανθοτλῆξ*, the *Polyidus*, the *Meleager*, the *Sinon*, and the first *Tyro*, the system of concentration and tests irresistibly suggests itself as a dramatic framework; and the plots of many other tragedies by Sophocles, as far as we know them, are of such a nature as to adapt themselves easily to the arrangement. The tragic sin emerges more clearly. In the first *Athamas*, the *Thamyras*, *Laocoön*, *Niobe*, *Tantalus*, *Ποιμένες*, *Tereus*, and the two *Phineus* plays, it is certain. In the *Locrian Ajax*, the high degree of probability amounts to virtual certainty, and the rest of the catalogue of Sophocles' work comprises other examples in which the presence of a tragic sin may be postulated with more or less confidence. The poet seems to have made purificatory sequences in writing the plays on *Philoctetes* and *Phineus*, and may very well have created such sequences also out of the plays on

<sup>1</sup> *Philologus*, XXVIII, p. 344.

Athamas, on Electra and Aletes, on Telephus, on Thyestes, and on Peleus.

One other interesting fact must have impressed the reader: Sophocles sometimes used very similar plots, or at least adapted the mythical deposit to a norm that he had employed before. The plot of the *Oedipus King*, for instance, was probably paralleled in the *Larissaei*, the *Thyestes at Sicyon*, and the 'Οδυσσεύς ἀκανθοπλήξ. The character of Telephus in the 'Αχαιῶν σύλλογος and the treatment of the situation seem to have been duplicated in the extant *Philoctetes*; and there is likelihood that the *Aletes* and the first *Tyro* were analogous to the *Electra*. The action of the Σίνδειπνοι was almost identical with that of the 'Αχαιῶν σύλλογος. Originality, or let us say rather, novelty, of theme, whether in literature or art, has not been so highly valued in past epochs as in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; and our predecessors of antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance preferred to seek perfection in the manner in which they presented their material.

I have suggested in another place<sup>1</sup> that Sophocles abandoned Aeschylus' habit of calling plays after the choruses and used the name of the protagonist as a title because his dramas depicted the triumph of the protagonist's will. This statement was based upon the extant tragedies; but in the non-extant works also a marked preponderance of titles derived from the protagonists may be observed. A certain number of the lost plays, however, may have been named after a less prominent character. Examples of such possible exceptions are the *Atreus*, the *Andromeda*, the *Aletes*, the *Aleadae*, the *Hermione*, and the *Tereus*. The 'Ελένης ἀπάτηνοι and the 'Αχαιῶν σύλλογος took their titles from the chief event embodied in each drama. The 'Αντηροπίδαι may have been an alternative appellation for the former, perhaps the one originally applied by Sophocles, and the sons of Antenor, either with or without their father,<sup>2</sup> were probably the protagonists. Since Telephus seems to have been the leading figure in the first part of the 'Αχαιῶν σύλλογος and Achilles in the second part, it was manifestly impossible to name the drama after a single character; and possibly for this reason Sophocles resorted to a nomenclature based upon an event. The name of the *Trachiniae* is perhaps to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my article on Sophocles, p. 86.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, p. 27.

be explained on this principle, for Heracles in the latter half assumes the prominence that Deianira had enjoyed in the earlier scenes. The same principle of nomenclature may even have operated in certain of the lost dramas that Sophocles named after choruses in the archaic fashion. The importance of both Atreus and Thyestes in the play upon the hideous banquet, for instance, perhaps left Sophocles in a quandary as to which of the two should receive the honor of being the sponsor of the work, and he may have fallen back upon the compromise of the *Mycenaean Women*, which the old grammarians knew as an alternative for the *Atreus*. The hypothetical alternative title, *Minos*, for the *Κατικολ* suggests that Minos was as conspicuous in the action as Daedalus, and so once more Sophocles may have had to call the chorus into service for his name. Perhaps also in the *Laconian Women*, no one character stood forth so preëminently as to deserve the distinction of providing the title. The *Epigoni* is virtually the name of an event, and here again the title used by Sophocles himself may have been the alternative, *Eriphyle*,<sup>1</sup> who was possibly the protagonist.

In several other instances, besides those already mentioned, of tragedies called after choruses, the reason is not apparent. Examples are the *Larissaei*, the *Ποιμένες*, the *Scyrians*, the *Σύνδετνοι*, and the *Phthiotides*. As far as our evidence goes, they should have conformed to the practice of a nomenclature derived from the protagonist. In some cases, the retention of the chorus-name may be due to an early date. If the *Mysians* preceded the 'Αχαιῶν σύλλογος chronologically as well as logically, it belonged to the beginning of Sophocles' career.<sup>2</sup> The Aeschylean language of fragments 34 and 35<sup>3</sup> of the *Captive Maidens* implies an early date; and the striking fact that all three plays upon the tale of Jason and Medea, the *Colchian Women*, the *Root-gatherers*, and the *Scythians*, receive their names from the choruses has more force in proving that he composed them when he was still under the influence of his great predecessor, than if only one of the series were so entitled. The *Root-gatherers*, however, possibly had as an alternative title the name of Pelias,<sup>4</sup> who seems to have been the

<sup>1</sup> If the *Eriphyle* was not a separate play.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, p. 18. <sup>3</sup> N. 31 and 32.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Pearson, II, p. 274, under fragment 648.

protagonist. The appellation, the *Lemnian Women*, may be occasioned by the fact that the companions of Hypsipyle played rôles almost as important as that of the heroine herself.

When double titles exist for a drama, it may be that the name derived from the protagonist was sometimes the one given by Sophocles and that the chorus-name was invented by the later grammarians.<sup>1</sup> In the cases of the *Atreus* or the *Mycenaean Women* and of the *Minos* or *Kaikos*, however, I have already suggested another reason for the second appellation. The title *Nιπτρα*, which is usually believed to be a secondary name for the 'Οδυσσεὺς ἀκανθοπλήξ, refers not to the chorus, but to an episode, the bath. Whether it describes, according to the theory of Wilamowitz,<sup>2</sup> Sophocles' use of the original Homeric recognition of Odysseus in a bath, or, according to the more usual theory, a later and similar recognition, or whether it describes the bathing of his wounded foot,<sup>3</sup> it would seem that the title was not Sophoclean but became current among the grammarians simply because *Nιπτρα* was the catch-word for the Homeric *ἀναγνώρισις* by the nurse and might be extended to include any bathing of the hero.

#### IV

Certain other factors that I have pointed out in my former article as bearing upon Sophocles' principal interest, the delineation of character, are corroborated by an examination of the existing data on the lost dramas. He studies his secondary characters as carefully as his protagonists.<sup>4</sup> So, even though Electra was probably the protagonist of the *Aletes*, the character from whom the play takes its name was apparently given a very definite individuality.<sup>5</sup> On the assumption that Petersen's reconstruction of the *Andromeda* is correct,<sup>6</sup> the other

<sup>1</sup> Pearson (I, p. xviii) takes the opposite view on the ground that Sophocles was prone to follow the precedent of Aeschylus in this matter; but this assumption seems to me gratuitous.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. below, p. 60.

<sup>3</sup> This theory of J. N. Svoronos, that the *Nιπτρα* refers to Telegonus' washing of his father's wounded foot after the recognition, seems to me as far-fetched as the rest of this part of his article in the *Gazette Archéologique*, XIII (1888), pp. 270 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. my article, pp. 78-79.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. above, p. 21.

<sup>6</sup> *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXIV (1904), pp. 106 ff.

suitors, Phineus, was delineated as an "effeminate oriental" in contrast to Perseus. If Thyestes was only the deuteragonist of the *Atreus* or *Mycenaean Women*, fragment 140<sup>1</sup> seems to indicate at least that his character was given a definite stamp, since he is apparently depicted here as a weakling like his son Aegisthus. Telephus was probably what would be technically called the protagonist of the 'Αχαιῶν σίλλογος; but Achilles, with a rôle of not much less importance, was himself represented as embittered. His active and unreflecting nature was also contrasted with the deliberation and craftiness of Odysseus.<sup>2</sup> Odysseus was likewise prominent in the *Σινδειπνοι*, applying his wiles to winning over Achilles from his fit of sulking. The lugging of Odysseus into the *Teucer* is additional proof of the fact that this character was a kind of obsession with Sophocles and that he introduced him into situations where other dramatists would never have thought of placing him. It is from Aristotle that we derive the knowledge that Odysseus in the *Teucer* indulged in clever argument.<sup>3</sup> In the same play Telamon appears to have been depicted as an irritable old man.<sup>4</sup> If we accept the version of the *Oenomaus* that makes the charioteer Mytilus a lover of Hippodamia, then he too was much more than a puppet in the action. Fragment 658<sup>5</sup> of the first *Tyro* indicates that the step-mother Sidero was outlined as possessing the fierceness of the steel (*σιδηρος*) "whose name she bears."

I have also said that Sophocles had a profound interest in the feminine as well as in the masculine character and that he introduced upon the Attic stage the type of the heroic maiden.<sup>6</sup> In the *Polyxena* he probably created a protagonist worthy to be classed with his Antigone and Electra. The scholiast on the beginning of the *Hecuba* of Euripides declares that τὰ περὶ Πολυξένην ζητῶ εὑρεῖν παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ ἐν Πολυξένῃ; if this statement is pressed to its full meaning, we should expect to find in the heroine of Sophocles the same pride of race and scornful bravery that distinguish Polyxena in the *Hecuba*. Our scanty knowledge of the character of Iphigenia in Sophocles' play of the same name does not permit a decision as to whether she was delineated with any of the heroic patriotism of Euripides' Iphigenia at Aulis.

<sup>1</sup> N. 136.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. fr. 142. Not in Nauck.

<sup>5</sup> N. 597.

<sup>3</sup> *Rhet.*, 3, 15, 1416b2.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. my article, pp. 97-98.

If we may base any conclusions upon the reconstruction postulated for the *Aletes*, Electra in that play continued to exhibit the bold magnanimity that brings her into such strong relief in the surviving tragedy. Other characters in the lost plays were evidently as careful studies of the feminine temperament as the Chrysothemis, Ismene, and Tecmessa of the extant dramas. Whether or not Hermione was the protagonist of the play called after her, it is likely that Sophocles stressed her constancy to her first love, Orestes. Auge, in the *Mysians*, must have been another example of faithfulness to an early passion, if one is willing to accept Sophocles as the source of Hyginus' account.<sup>1</sup> The Medea who dictated to Jason his procedure in the *Kolchides*, who with fiendish strategy compassed the destruction of Pelias in the 'Πιγορόμοι, and who in the *Aegeus* tyrannized the old man into persecution of the young Theseus, was the commanding type of woman embodied, in a virtuous form, in Electra and Antigone. A scholium on Apollonius Rhodius<sup>2</sup> actually states that in the *Kolchides* Medea advised Jason. As the harshness of Electra and Antigone was softened by alleviating traits, so the vengeful savagery of Procne in the *Tereus* was partially relieved by that love and homesickness for Hellas, in contrast to barbaric Thrace, which breathes through several of the fragments.<sup>3</sup> Some of Sophocles' women were distraught by the complication of motives traditionally ascribed to the feminine sex and illustrated, in the surviving dramas, by the Clytaemnestra of the *Electra*. The complication of motives is often occasioned by the abnormal situations in which the feminine figures are placed. Pearson himself<sup>4</sup> points out that "the chief interest" of the *Lemnian Women* "must have been the opportunity which it offered for delineating (in Hypsipyle) the character of a woman confronted with such exceptional difficulties."<sup>5</sup> Likewise, Althaea in the *Meleager* was perhaps conceived as torn between maternal and fraternal affection; and if, as has been suggested,<sup>6</sup> the development followed Homer closely, Meleager's wife Cleopatra must have been sketched with traits lovely enough to have finally aroused the dormant affection and compassion of her husband. In Tyro, Sophocles presented a

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, p. 17, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> II, p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> 3, 1040.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. above, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> 583 (N. 524); 584 (N. 525); 587 (N. 528).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. above, p. 35.

woman who, on the one hand, having been guilty of a *liaison* with Poseidon, had exposed her own children, and who, on the other hand, had to be treated as a pitiful but unbending victim of a stepmother's cruelty, possessed by the desire to retaliate upon her persecutor. It is possible that Phaedra also was imagined by Sophocles as fundamentally virtuous but swayed by an unfortunate passion.

His intense concern with feminine character led to a more pronounced emphasis upon the erotic *motif* than the severer Aeschylus allowed himself. We should expect such an emphasis from the poet who wrote the celebrated stasimon of the *Antigone* beginning "Ἐρως ἀνίκαρε μάχαν" and the ardent lines on the might of Cypris that constitute one of the most beautiful fragments<sup>1</sup> quoted by Stobaeus (without the title of the drama to which they belong). The decision as to whether Sophocles was the first to make the erotic *motif* principal on the stage<sup>2</sup> depends partly upon the comparative dates assigned to his *Phaedra* and the two plays of Euripides that treated the same subject;<sup>3</sup> in any case the fact remains that lust was the dominating theme of this tragedy. The passion of Medea for Jason must have been a very significant part of the *Colchian Women*: Welcker<sup>4</sup> and Pearson<sup>5</sup> both deduce that fragment 345<sup>6</sup> came from a passage describing the power of love. The *amour* of Hypsipyle and the same hero constituted a vital interest of the *Lemnian Women*. Fragment 474<sup>7</sup> shows that in the *Oenomaus* the love of Hippodamia for Pelops was emphasized, although one version of the myth had neglected this detail altogether. Possibly the rival passion of Myrtilus for Hippodamia<sup>8</sup> was also introduced. The whole tale of Cephalus and Procris, dramatized by Sophocles in a play called after the latter, turns upon love and jealousy. The *Phoenix* comprised a similar story of passion and vengeance, if it treated the same material as the Euripidean play of identical title. In view of all these amorous intrigues, it seems curious at first thought that Sophocles in the *Meleager* probably made

<sup>1</sup> Pearson, 941; N. 855. Although Stobaeus names Sophocles as the author, Nauck and others assign this fragment rather to Euripides.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. my article, p. 97.

<sup>5</sup> II, pp. 15 and 22.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Pearson, II, p. 296.

<sup>6</sup> N. 320.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 334.

<sup>7</sup> N. 433.

<sup>8</sup> For the arguments pro and con, cf. Pearson, II, p. 123.

little or nothing of the hero's fancy for Atalanta, leaving that aspect of the myth to Euripides. The restriction of the action to Meleager's withdrawal from participation in the war would leave small room for emphasis upon this erotic *motif*. Perhaps Sophocles was here actuated by his usual desire for a greater simplicity than Euripides.

The lost plays contained instances of another type that Sophocles popularized in the theatre, the noble-minded and ingenuous youth. I have analyzed in my former article the character of Neoptolemus in the *Philoctetes* and have pointed out Sophocles' fondness for this creation of his. He introduced him into several other tragedies and endowed him usually with the same generous nature. In the *Scyrians*,<sup>1</sup> Neoptolemus voices that love for his father which constitutes one of the principal motives of his action in the *Philoctetes*; in the *Peleus* he protects his persecuted grandfather and perhaps spares his enemy, Acastus; Plutarch<sup>2</sup> quotes words to show that, when he attacks his adversary in the *Eurypylus*, he abstains from military braggadocio and tongue battles. In the *Hermione* Neoptolemus could scarcely have been represented any longer as a youth. There is nothing to show whether Sophocles lent him any of the nobility that he still possesses in the Euripidean *Andromache*; in any case, if he was the protagonist, he suffered from the tragic defect of a headstrong temper. Perhaps the 'Αχαιῶν σύλλογος included the same contrast between Achilles and Odysseus as between Neoptolemus and the wily Ithacan in the *Philoctetes*. Welcker<sup>3</sup> suggests that the *Iphigenia* embodied exactly this contrast, Achilles assuming the rôle of an ingenuous youth cajoled into the scheme of the marriage through the false representations of the case by Odysseus, and at the critical moment refusing to carry the deceit farther. The German scholar was perhaps arguing from the analogy of the Achilles of the Euripidean *Iphigenia at Aulis*. Fragment 307<sup>4</sup> may be an address of Odysseus to Achilles, exhorting him to practise the tricky changefulness of the

<sup>1</sup> Fr. 557; N. 513. The statement in regard to Neoptolemus' expression of love for his father rests upon the justifiable assumption that the *Scyrians* treated the departure of Neoptolemus, not of Achilles, from Scyros.

<sup>2</sup> *De cohibenda ira*, 10, p. 458 E. Plutarch's quotation is now seen to apply to the *Eurypylus*, because certain words in it can be identified in the new papyrus fragment (Pearson, fr. 210).

<sup>3</sup> See p. 108.

<sup>4</sup> N. 286.

polypus. Since Plutarch praises Eurypylus as well as Neoptolemus for modesty, it is likely that he too was depicted as a noble youth; at least in the new papyrus fragment<sup>1</sup> he is highly extolled by Priam for his prowess and even for wisdom beyond his years.

In three of these plays, the *Scyrians*, the 'Αχαιῶν σύλλογος, and the *Iphigenia*, the character of the upright young man was probably brought into stronger relief by contrast with the craft of the worldly Odysseus. The dramatist apparently introduced a similar juxtaposition into the *Σίνδειπνοι*. The surviving tragedies contain several unmistakable instances of definition of character by contrast. One or two examples in the non-extant tragedies may be added to those already enumerated in order to illustrate more fully this aspect of the art of Sophocles. If Petersen is to be trusted, the manliness of the Perseus of the *Andromeda* was set over against the effeminacy of Phineus. The *Tereus* would have afforded Sophocles an opportunity for a pair of opposites, like Antigone and Ismene or Electra and Chrysothemis: it is hardly possible that he should have neglected to differentiate a strong-minded Procne, intent upon requital, from a weaker and less heroic Philomela, who had been unable to elude the lustful violence of her brother-in-law and was perhaps at first as unwilling as Ismene or Chrysothemis to coöperate with her sister in a plan for vengeance.<sup>2</sup>

The interest in human character contributed, with other influences, to lower the plays of Sophocles from the supernatural plane on which those of Aeschylus so often took place.<sup>3</sup> He did not usually treat myths that required the presence of the gods as actors. The most notable exception was the *Triptolemus*, in which Demeter was introduced instructing the Eleusinian hero;<sup>4</sup> but this was a very early work,<sup>5</sup> strongly influenced by Aeschylus both in diction<sup>6</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> Pearson, *Eurypylus*, fr. 210, lines 70 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The fact that in fr. 589 (N. 530) both sisters are coupled in the blame does not, of course, imply that Procne was not the leading spirit in the gruesome enterprise. Even Chrysothemis is persuaded by Electra to coöperate so far as not to be the instrument of Clytaemnestra's expiatory offering.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. my article on Sophocles, pp. 108-110.

<sup>4</sup> Dionys. Hal., *Ant. Rom.*, I, 12.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Pearson, II, p. 239.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. frs. 597 and 598 (N. 540 and 541).

fondness for *le merveilleux*.<sup>1</sup> Other possible exceptions to the Sophoclean practice were the *Inachus*, which gave rôles to Hermes and Iris, and the *Tantalus*, in which Hermes may have been sent as a messenger to the protagonist. Wilamowitz<sup>2</sup> guesses at the date of about 421 for the *Inachus*, but there are other Aeschylean characteristics, besides the divine intervention, that would suggest a much earlier moment in Sophocles' career. The taste for the supernatural and the exotic was embodied in the description of Io's transformation;<sup>3</sup> and Aeschylus' love of geographical passages<sup>4</sup> appears in fragment 271,<sup>5</sup> as it had likewise found a place in the account of the journey of Triptolemus over the earth in the drama named after him.<sup>6</sup> Many scholars, however, have thought that the *Inachus* was a satyr-play. If this surmise is correct, it would obey the canons of another dramatic genre, which we have excluded from our present survey, and the question of the presence of divine actors would not concern us.

The employment of the *deus ex machina* is quite a different matter from the appearance of gods as participants in the main action; but even this Euripidean device does not seem often to have been adopted by Sophocles. The example from the *Philoctetes*, among the extant tragedies, I have discussed in another place.<sup>7</sup> The most probable instance in the lost tragedies is perhaps afforded by the Thetis of the Σίνδειπνοι;<sup>8</sup> and it is significant that she appears in the same guise in the *Andromache* of Euripides. The similarity in moral problem and development between the *Philoctetes* and the Σίνδειπνοι would suggest that the latter play also belonged to the old age of Sophocles, and the introduction of the θεά ἀπὸ μηχανῆς, as a Euripidean mannerism, would point in the same direction. Thetis may also have manifested herself at the end of the *Peleus* to settle the strife between the protagonist and Acastus, if Pearson<sup>9</sup> is right in supposing that the ac-

<sup>1</sup> Triptolemus, for instance, travelled over the earth in a car drawn by winged serpents (cf. Pearson, II, p. 240).

<sup>2</sup> U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Einleitung in die attische Tragödie*, Berlin, 1889, p. 88, n. 53.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Pearson, I, p. 199.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. my essay on the *Dramatic Art of Aeschylus*, pp. 58-59.

<sup>5</sup> N. 249.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. above, p. 19.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Pearson, II, p. 240.

<sup>8</sup> II, p. 142.

<sup>9</sup> *The Dramatic Art of Sophocles*, p. 110.

count of Dictys is based in this detail upon Sophocles. Since Aristophanes in the *Knights*<sup>1</sup> of 424 B.C. quotes from the *Peleus*, it was brought out long before the *Σινδεῖτροι*; another play of this earlier period, the *Teucer*, quoted by Aristophanes in the *Clouds* of 423,<sup>2</sup> possibly introduced Apollo at the end, ordering the emigration of the hero to the island of Cyprus.<sup>3</sup> The *Tyro*, in which Engelmann<sup>4</sup> has conjectured that Poseidon was a god from the machine, has been placed in the years from 420 to 415,<sup>5</sup> and so brings us again to a period when the influence of Euripides was more likely. A section of the mutilated new papyrus fragment that has been assigned to the *Tyro*, since it seems to embody a prayer invoking the appearance of the god of the sea,<sup>6</sup> would corroborate Engelmann's theory. There is a possibility that the *Aletes*, which is frequently considered a very late work,<sup>7</sup> included a theophany of Artemis: when Hyginus, at the end of his fable,<sup>8</sup> states that this goddess saved Erigone, the sister of Aletes, from the hands of Orestes and made her a priestess in Attica, he is perhaps reflecting Sophocles, who may even have used the tale, like Euripides in the *Tauric Iphigenia*, as an aetiological explanation of an Attic cult. If any chronological significance is to be given to the fact that, of a series of plays on the same myth, one treats the concluding phases of the story, then the 'Οδυσσεὺς ἀκανθοκλήξ, as the final member of the series upon Odysseus,<sup>9</sup> may supply another instance of a late tragedy with a culminating theophany, in this case, of Athena.<sup>10</sup> The *Niobe* cannot be definitely dated;<sup>11</sup> but it almost demands some supernatural being at the end, whether Tantalus or another,<sup>12</sup> to announce to the audience the transportation of the protagonist to Lydia. Welcker<sup>13</sup> guesses, with no real evidence, that in the

<sup>1</sup> Line 1099.<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, p. 11.<sup>3</sup> Cf. Pearson, II, pp. 216-217.<sup>4</sup> R. Engelmann, *Archäologische Studien zu den Tragikern*, Berlin, 1900, p. 46.<sup>5</sup> Cf. above, p. 40.<sup>6</sup> Cf. Pearson, I, p. 62.<sup>7</sup> Pearson, fr. 649, lines 52 ff.<sup>8</sup> 122.<sup>9</sup> The *Nausicaa*, which treated an earlier episode in the life of Odysseus, was certainly a work of Sophocles' youth.<sup>10</sup> Pearson, II, pp. 107 and 110.<sup>11</sup> Unless we believe that the death of the daughters of Niobe on the stage (cf. below, p. 58) can be considered, as in the *Ajax*, evidence of an early date when Sophocles had a youthful enthusiasm for innovations.<sup>12</sup> Cf. above, p. 37, n. 1.<sup>13</sup> See p. 413.

*Aleadae* Heracles finally declared the real birth of Telephus, and directed him to seek in Mysia purification from his uncles' murder; but this *dénouement* would have involved a more unjustifiable employment of the *deus ex machina* to extricate the entanglement than even Euripides usually allowed himself, and one prefers to believe that the author of the superb plot of the *Oedipus King* found some such more natural solution as that suggested by Wernicke,<sup>1</sup> — a forced explanation by the protector of Telephus, King Corythus.

There remains a final question in regard to Sophocles' delineation of character, which the examination of all his plays enables us to answer more definitely than if we had only the surviving works as a basis for judgment. When he introduced the same person in two or more dramas, did he cast him in all cases in the same mold? The proper conclusion seems to be, that in the great majority of instances he did not alter his conception of a character, and that, when he did make a change, it was dictated by the exigencies of the plot. This conclusion is borne out, first, by the extant tragedies. The similar traits revealed by Odysseus in the *Ajax* and *Philoctetes* I have discussed in my former article.<sup>2</sup> The Antigone of the *Oedipus Coloneus* has suffered no change, but merely finds herself in circumstances that do not call for so heroic a mood as she exhibits in the tragedy that bears her name. The Oedipus of the *Coloneus* is the same man as the Oedipus of the *Tyrannus*, somewhat broken in spirit but not completely chastened or purified until the end.<sup>3</sup> In the case of none of the purificatory sequences, indeed, can the fact of an ultimate purification be interpreted as an alteration in the conception of a character; the purified protagonist is essentially the same character in another phase of his career. Ismene in the *Oedipus Coloneus* does seem to possess a more attractive personality than in the *Antigone*, although even in the later play she has allowed her stronger sister to assume the burden of sharing the father's long wanderings and afflictions; but a more pronounced instance of an altered character is afforded by Creon, who is a different person in each of three dramas from the Theban legend.

The lost tragedies provide a number of cases for examination. It has already been seen that in several other plays, with the possible

<sup>1</sup> Pauly-Wissowa, II, 2302.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 92 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. my article, pp. 105 ff.

exception of the *Hermione*, Neoptolemus revealed the same charm with which Sophocles invested him in the *Philoctetes*.<sup>1</sup> Pearson,<sup>2</sup> for instance, notes that the love which he manifests for his father in the *Philoctetes* is reechoed in fragment 557<sup>3</sup> of the *Scyrians*. But Sophocles was perhaps even more fascinated by the diametrically opposed personality of Odysseus, and exerted more effort upon his delineation. I have pointed out at the beginning that he arbitrarily introduced Odysseus into the *Iphigenia* and the *Teucer*. If Jebb is right in assigning fragment 307<sup>4</sup> of the *Iphigenia* to Odysseus, we have here a typical speech of the Ithacan schemer in the advice (to whomever addressed) to adopt the shifting policy of the octopus. Aristotle<sup>5</sup> comments upon the specious argument used by Odysseus in the *Teucer*. In the *Scyrians* his adroitness may have been pitted against the simplicity of Neoptolemus as in the *Philoctetes*. Even if we adopt Brunck's view<sup>6</sup> that the *Scyrians* was concerned with the hiding of the young Achilles at Scyros, Odysseus would have had an almost identical rôle to act; and the anonymous fragment<sup>7</sup> that Brunck ascribes to the *Scyrians* of Sophocles introduces Odysseus reproaching Achilles for dishonoring his lineage by lurking behind as an *embusqué*. In the *'Αχαιῶν σύλλογος* and the *Σύνδειπνοι* it was certainly Achilles who constituted the foil to his seasoned sagacity. Fragments 564 and 566<sup>8</sup> of the latter work appear to be drawn from passages in which Odysseus ingeniously taunted Achilles with cowardice in order to goad him into resuming his place in the expeditionary forces. The very title of the *Palamedes* indicates that this play represented the darker side of Odysseus' cleverness in his betrayal of the protagonist, no matter what view is taken of the Sophoclean details of his treachery. There can be little doubt that we should assign to the *Laconian Women* the fragment, quoted by Herodian from Sophocles without the title of the drama,<sup>9</sup> in which Odysseus derides Diomedes; and on this basis we shall be obliged to believe that Sophocles unnecessarily introduced

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> II, p. 192, n. 7.

<sup>3</sup> N. 513.

<sup>4</sup> N. 286. Cf. above, p. 50.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. above, p. 47, n. 3.

<sup>6</sup> R. F. P. Brunck, Ed. of seven plays with fragments, Strassburg, 1788, vol. III, pp. 444-445.

<sup>7</sup> N., fr. *adesp.* 9. This fragment probably comes rather from the *Scyrians* of Euripides.

<sup>8</sup> N. 139 and 141.

<sup>9</sup> Pearson, fr. 799; N. 731.

the episode of the quarrel of the two champions, merely for the purpose of exhibiting Odysseus in the unattractive light of a man who wishes by chicanery to rob his comrade of the honor of sharing in the capture of the Palladium. If Sophocles followed the version of the episode that told of Diomedes using the flat of his sword to drive Odysseus into the Greek camp as his prisoner, the Ithacan would have been represented as stained with something of that cowardice and bathos which are ascribed to him in the *Ajax* and *Philoctetes*.<sup>1</sup> Even if the lines do not come from the *Laconian Women*, the fact would remain that in some other tragedy Odysseus was conceived in his usual character of a wrangler. In another Sophoclean fragment<sup>2</sup> that cannot be assigned to a definite play, he is dubbed a *πάνσοφον κρότημα*, and it makes little difference whether the uncomplimentary epithet be interpreted as a bundle of deceit or a "chatterbox." Of the dramas in which he was the chief personage, the 'Οδυσσεύς μανθένος must have shown him as the customary trickster.<sup>3</sup> There is nothing to indicate how he was delineated in the *Euryalus*; but it is probable that in the 'Οδυσσεύς ἀκανθοτλήξ he was modelled on nobler lines. Likewise, it is hardly possible that in the *Nausicaa* he should not have been a simpler, kindlier, and more romantic figure; perhaps Sophocles, at this early moment in his career, had not yet evolved his conception of Odysseus as an exponent of worldly wisdom and of the theory that the end justifies the means.

Of other personages who appeared in the extant as well as the lost tragedies, Electra of the *Alethes* continued to exhibit the same heroic will and fixed purpose of retaliation, if the reconstruction that has been outlined above<sup>4</sup> is valid. Fragment 101, which has already been quoted, would be a statement of the unswerving rectitude of her course. Teucer, in the play of which he was the protagonist, seems to have stuck to his determination to remain at Salamis with the same tenacity with which he had loyally defended his brother in the *Ajax*. He still retained the ability in disputation that he had shown against Menelaus and Agamemnon, for Aristotle, in the passage from the *Rhetoric* that has already been mentioned,<sup>5</sup> refers specifically to the arguments advanced by Teucer against the contention of Odysseus.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my article, pp. 93-94.

<sup>2</sup> Pearson, 913; N. 827.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above, p. 29.

<sup>4</sup> Pp. 19-21.

<sup>5</sup> P. 47.

In the tragedies dealing with the sordid myth of Atreus and Thyestes, whether we consider their number to have been two or three,<sup>1</sup> the two brothers must have vied with each other throughout in hideous cunning. The banquet-play and the Sicyon-play probably depicted Thyestes as spitefully coveting the sceptre of Mycenae, and both may have shown him also as a libertine. The sinister arts employed by Medea in the *Colchian Women* to safeguard Jason were not different from those to which she resorted in the *Aegeus* for the purpose of destroying Theseus. If she brewed the poison in the *Aegeus*, she must have had the same character of a witch as in the *Root-gatherers*. Sophocles seems to have followed Homer and Aeschylus in representing Helen as repentant at Troy, or perhaps even as an innocent victim of abduction by Paris.<sup>2</sup> It is hard to escape the conclusion that in fragment 178<sup>3</sup> of the 'Ελένης ἀταίρησις she prefers suicide to remaining at Troy and facing the reputation of a wanton. In the *Laconian Women* she probably connived with Odysseus and Diomedes in the theft of the Palladium.<sup>4</sup> Sufficient evidence does not exist for determining whether in the same play Antenor, the pacifist of the 'Ελένης ἀταίρησις, had developed into a traitor to his country.<sup>5</sup> If Nauplius appeared at Troy at the end of the *Palamedes* to vindicate his son's memory and to avenge his death,<sup>6</sup> his rôle was the same as in the Ναύπλιος πυρκαέες, which represented him as punishing his son's judges by luring them to ruin on the rocks through false signals of fire. Ναύπλιος καταπλέων may have been an alternative title for the πυρκαέες; otherwise, it seems more logical with Pearson<sup>7</sup> to suppose that it treated another of the father's infernal plans of retaliation, his corruption and destruction of the family of Idomeneus.

## V

In the fourth section of my former article I have sought to analyze certain phases of Sophocles' technique that are not so closely connected with his study of character. It was partially, however, his desire to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, pp. 23-25.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Welcker, pp. 119 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Nauck places this fragment among those that he cannot assign definitely to any play, giving it the number 663, but he states that it seems to belong to the 'Ελένης ἀταίρησις.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Pearson, II, p. 35.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, II, pp. 132-133.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, II, pp. 34-35.

<sup>7</sup> II, p. 82 and p. 86 under fr. 431.

have a greater stretch of time in which his personages could display the several aspects of their temperaments that caused him to begin his tragedies at earlier moments in the myths than Aeschylus. One or two instances may be discerned in the lost plays. In addition to the witness of Aristophanes in line 911 of the *Frogs*, there is abundant evidence<sup>1</sup> that the *Niobe* of Aeschylus began with the representation of the mother silently grieving for her dead children. A corrupt passage in the eighteenth chapter of Aristotle's *Poetics*<sup>2</sup> is perhaps best emended<sup>3</sup> to mean that Euripides rightly refrained from dramatizing the whole story of the fall of Troy and that Aeschylus rightly confined himself to a section of the myth of Niobe; but, however the words are read, they imply at least that in some play or plays Aeschylus brought on the stage only a part of the available material. Plutarch<sup>4</sup> categorically states that the action of the *Niobe* of Sophocles included the death of the sons; and whether the passage be interpreted in the sense that their destruction was performed before the audience, as in the *Ajax*,<sup>5</sup> or in the sense that it was reported by a messenger, the fact remains that in the Aeschylean version they and the daughters had already been killed and the tragedy opened with Niobe mourning at their tomb. Welcker<sup>6</sup> conjectured that in the Sophoclean version the daughters were stricken before the eyes of the audience and that the death of the sons was recounted in a *þñtos*. At least one part of this conjecture appears to be corroborated by certain other papyrus scraps,<sup>7</sup> in addition to that already mentioned as embodying a speech of Tantalus.<sup>8</sup> The fragmentary lines suit no other tragedy so well as the *Niobe* of Sophocles, and in one passage a maiden seems to be dying from the sudden visitation of Artemis. There is no play of Aeschylus with which to compare the *Polyxena*, but this work com-

<sup>1</sup> For a recapitulation of the evidence, see Nauck, introduction to the fragments of the *Niobe* of Aeschylus.

<sup>2</sup> 1456a17.

<sup>3</sup> By Vahlen.

<sup>4</sup> *Amat.*, 17, p. 760 E.

<sup>5</sup> Of course, both in the *Ajax* and the *Niobe* the actors may at the last moment have withdrawn from the view of the spectators, in order to keep the letter of the custom that looked askance upon the ritualistic pollution of the shrine of Dionysus through the visible representation of the final agony; but the effect in both cases would be very much the same as when in our theatre the person actually expires upon the stage.

<sup>6</sup> Pp. 290 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Pearson, frs. 442-445.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. above, p. 36.

prised a more extended action than the older poet would have permitted himself in treating the same material. The main theme was the sacrifice of the Trojan princess to appease the spirit of Achilles; but Strabo<sup>1</sup> informs us that the drama included also the quarrel of Agamemnon and Menelaus upon the question of departing at once for home or delaying at Troy to propitiate Athena. Mythical tradition represented Agamemnon as remaining after the dispute and as directed by the ghost of Achilles to sacrifice Polyxena, so that in the Sophoclean tragedy the strife of the two brothers preceded the episode of the immolation. With two almost separate *motifs* of this kind, the play must have broken in two at the middle like the *Ajax*, and must have been as seriously lacking in unity. The Aeschylean tone of fragments 526 and 527<sup>2</sup> suggests that the *Polyxena* belonged to the same early period as the *Ajax*, when Sophocles had not yet fully mastered dramatic technique; it must have been produced at least before 423 B.C., if Welcker is right in attributing to this play fragment 887,<sup>3</sup> which, according to a scholiast, Aristophanes parodied in line 1163 of the *Clouds*.<sup>4</sup> Since there is good reason for believing that the start of the chariot-race was included in the action of the *Oenomaus*,<sup>5</sup> it may be that Sophocles here again began early in the story.

I have not been able to discover in the fragments any indubitable examples of the substitution of word-pictures for our modern elaborate stage-setting.<sup>6</sup> Certain passages, however, appear to embody an Aeschylean predilection for geographical descriptions.<sup>7</sup> I have already referred<sup>8</sup> to fragment 271 of the *Inachus* in which Sophocles outlines the course of the river Inachus, and to the account of the journey of Triptolemus in the play named after him. Fragment 24, whether assigned to the *Aegeus* or not,<sup>9</sup> comprises Sophocles' description of the division of Attica among the sons of Pandion. The *Triptolemus*

<sup>1</sup> 470. <sup>2</sup> N. 483 and 484. Cf. also Pearson's comment upon these fragments.

<sup>3</sup> N. 801.

<sup>4</sup> Unless we suppose that the line belongs to the later revision of the *Clouds* or that the scholiast wrongly discerned a parody of Sophocles.

<sup>5</sup> For the evidence, see Pearson, II, p. 125.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. my article, pp. 117-118.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. my essay on the *Dramatic Art of Aeschylus*, pp. 58-59; also, Gilbert Norwood, *Greek Tragedy*, Boston, 1920, p. 119.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. above, p. 52.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. above, p. 13.

was certainly an early work of the poet when he was still very much under the influence of Aeschylus; the *Inachus* may very well belong to the same period.<sup>1</sup> Even the *Aegeus* might be ascribed to this date, if we take as a criterion the consideration that the tests of the will may have been arranged as in the *Ajax* and *Antigone*.<sup>2</sup>

The narration of the journey of Triptolemus served another purpose of Sophocles, the desire "to set his play against a broader background of space and time" than was included in the action itself.<sup>3</sup> Also in the *Aegeus*, the description of the adventures of Theseus in coming from Troezen to Athens,<sup>4</sup> like the enumeration of the labors of Heracles in the *Trachiniae*, would have widened the vista of the spectator. After much the same fashion, Odysseus, in the *ἀκανθοτλῆξ*, seems almost certainly to have told the story of his wanderings from Troy to Ithaca.<sup>5</sup> This circumstance provides another case in which an examination of one of the elements in the dramatic art of Sophocles aids in the problem of the reconstruction of a lost play. Wilamowitz<sup>6</sup> supposes that the *ἀκανθοτλῆξ* embodied the first return of Odysseus and that Sophocles adopted a version of the return different from that of the *Odyssey*. One of Wilamowitz' arguments is that Odysseus in a second return would not have indulged in a recapitulation of the account of his trials that he must have given when he first came back. But since it can be proved that it was a regular custom of Sophocles to introduce such passages in order to broaden the horizon of a tragedy, even when they are not integral parts of the development, the presence of Odysseus' tale is not in itself<sup>7</sup> sufficient evidence for rejecting the version that represented Odysseus as returning from a second journey. It is not necessary, indeed, to suppose that the reminiscences of Odysseus occupied many lines in the *ἀκανθοτλῆξ*. We shall perhaps be right in falling back upon the opinion of the old German scholar, Welcker,<sup>8</sup> who conjectures that Odysseus at his second home-coming

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, p. 52.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. my article on Sophocles, p. 122.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, p. 14.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Pearson, I, p. 15.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Pearson, II, pp. 108-109, and U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Homerische Untersuchungen*, Berlin, 1884, p. 196.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 194 ff.

<sup>7</sup> A more serious difficulty is the necessity of assuming at the second return a recognition in a bath similar to that related in the *Odyssey*.

<sup>8</sup> See p. 247.

confined himself to a short exposition of his vicissitudes. Reference has already been made to the fact that in the *Teucre*<sup>1</sup> the outlook is broadened by the introduction of the secondary *motif* of the Locrian Ajax. I have also suggested that the spectator's vision is enlarged by the position of a play in a purificatory sequence.<sup>2</sup>

Of humorous relief,<sup>3</sup> the fragments of the lost dramas do not provide many examples. The most curious instance is the passage<sup>4</sup> from the *Σύνδετνοι*, which, in comic and piquant phraseology, describes some one (Thersites?) as hit by a chamber-pot. The "coarseness" of the lines has suggested to some critics that the *Σύνδετνοι* was a satyr-play or a tragi-comedy like the *Alcestis*. But the vulgarity is no more pronounced than in the nurse's speech of the *Choephoroi*; and it is significant that in this fragment of the *Σύνδετνοι* Sophocles almost plagiarized a passage<sup>5</sup> from Aeschylus' *'Οστολόγοι*,<sup>6</sup> which, however, has also been suspected of being a satyr-play. The colloquial character of certain fragments<sup>7</sup> of the *Inachus* has been noted by some scholars, but here again there arises the question of a satyr-play or of an analogy to the *Alcestis*. If Odysseus was beaten into the Greek camp with the flat of Diomedes' sword in the *Laconian Women*,<sup>8</sup> he would have presented the same spectacle of humorous cowardice as at the beginning of the *Ajax*.<sup>9</sup>

## VI

One of the objects of this article has been to show that it is not necessary to base our modern estimate of such an author as Sophocles solely upon the extant works. Despite the fact that the material for the investigation of the plays that have perished is unusually meagre in the case of Sophocles, I have endeavored to demonstrate the existence, in these plays, of certain aspects of the master's art that are apparent in the surviving dramas and to suggest new points of view that emerge only from a comprehensive consideration of his whole output. The phases of his method that may most convincingly be

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Fr. 565; N. 140.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, p. 11.

<sup>5</sup> N. 180.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. my article, pp. 121-122.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Pearson, II, pp. 200-201 and the comment under fr. 565.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. especially fr. 277 (N. 255).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. above, p. 56.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. my article, p. 121.

verified in the lost as well as in the extant tragedies are: his adaptation of the mythical deposit to his purpose of emphasis upon the delineation of character or to his ideal of simplicity; his construction of a drama upon the basis of the tragic sin and of a series of episodes that test, punish, and purify the will; his habit of naming a play after the strong-willed protagonist; the various aspects of his study of human personality; and certain technical devices, such as humorous relief, the setting of the commencement of his plays at an earlier moment in the myth than Aeschylus, and the widening of the vista beyond the limits of the actual subject treated. The principal new points revealed by the additional evidence are the purificatory sequence, the recurrent use of plots similar to those that he had manipulated before, a more frequent introduction of the *deus ex machina* than would be suggested by the example of the *Philoctetes*, and the maintenance of a uniform conception of a given character in several different tragedies. In some instances, when the paltry evidence of the fragments themselves or of the incidental allusions by ancient writers does not justify any conclusions, the reader may feel that it is not right to draw any inferences in regard to the play in question from the general outlines of the myth that Sophocles utilized; but it must be remembered that the very fact that he chose any myth for dramatization indicates that the story in itself contained certain factors which were in accord with his usual modes of procedure and scheme of construction.

The existing evidence on the lost plays affords opportunity for the examination of many other aspects of Sophocles' production besides those discussed in this article. It has already been pointed out that in the *Larissaei*, the *Thyestes at Sicyon*, the *Hermione*, the 'Οδυσσεύς ἀκανθοτολήξ, the *Thamyras*, 'Πιγρόμοι, and *Laocoön*, H. F. Müller might have found confirmation for his theory that a tragic situation is created by the interference of fate to pervert the protagonist's designs. Interesting results could perhaps be obtained, also, from an endeavor to apply to the lost dramas A. R. Chandler's Freudian explanation, in the extant works, of the Aristotelian catharsis of the passions.<sup>1</sup> The satyr-play lies without the province of the present

<sup>1</sup> A. R. Chandler, *Tragic Effect in Sophocles Analyzed According to the Freudian Method*, *The Monist*, XXIII (1913), pp. 59-89.

article; but a fresh investigation of this whole important subject is very much needed, and would furnish a fruitful theme for a doctor's dissertation which took into account not only the newly discovered section of the *Ichneutae* but also such other satyr-plays of Sophocles as the *Cedalion* and the *Pandora*. It is to be desired, furthermore, that, to a greater extent than in the past, Aeschylus and Euripides be judged on the merits of their whole production rather than only by the comparatively few works that have remained to us in their entirety. The figure of Euripides, in particular, would be more clearly defined by such a process. The fragments are copious, and many of the plots may be reconstructed. However much the reputation of Euripides suffers when such plays as the *Hypsipyle* and the *Phaethon* are brought into the prospect, it is surely advisable to utilize every scrap of information at hand in order to arrive at a just valuation of an author who has risen in our own day to a new popularity.



## ASTERIS

By FRANK BREWSTER

IN my article on Ithaca published in the thirty-first volume of the *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, the Homeric evidence was considered and the conclusion reached that the Homeric Ithaca is the Ionian island on the west coast of Greece which has been known so long by that name. The other three Homeric islands were also identified as follows: Zacynthus as the modern Zante, Dulichium as the modern Cephalonia, and Same as the modern Santa Maura, or Leucas as it was called in classical times. There is apparently no difference of opinion so far as Zacynthus is concerned, but Cephalonia is more commonly regarded as Same, and Dulichium as Leucas, or as not to be found.

The question whether Leucas is Same or Dulichium depends primarily on the identification of Asteris, which is described by Homer as a little island between Ithaca and Same. There are only two possible sites for Asteris. One is the island of Arkudi, which is located just at the eastern end of the channel between Leucas and Ithaca. The other is Daskalio, a very much smaller isle situated in the Ithaca channel between Cephalonia and Ithaca. This island is opposite the Bay of Polis, the harbor on the west coast of Ithaca near its northerly end, and lies much nearer Cephalonia than Ithaca.

If it can be shown that the language of the poet requires the identification of Asteris with either of these islands, this fact necessarily settles the question of the two large islands. If Daskalio is Asteris, Cephalonia must be Same, and Leucas, Dulichium. If Arkudi is Asteris, then Leucas must be Same, and Cephalonia, Dulichium.

If Homer had a real place in mind for Asteris, he must have described it either from personal knowledge or from descriptions contained in preexisting lays or traditional accounts. If he himself was personally familiar with the islands, it seems improbable that he could have referred to Daskalio. There are two important reasons for this. The first is the story that Odysseus told Eumaeus to explain his

presence on the island. If Daskalio were Asteris, then Leucas would be Dulichium, and the story would have seemed absurd to any one familiar with the islands. No real sailors from Thesprotia bound for Dulichium would have gone so far out of their way as to stop at the south end of Ithaca for supper. Such a course involves a detour of about forty miles. There is no hint that the ship had altered her destination. She had a cargo for Dulichium and her crew would have been in great trouble on their return if they did not deliver this. If Arkudi is Asteris, the story Odysseus told Eumeus is probable.<sup>1</sup> Second, if Daskalio was Asteris, it is difficult to explain the suitors' action. The large scale U. S. Chart of the islands shows that the high hill on the northwest side of the Bay of Polis commands a full view of the Ithaca Channel as far south as the Bay of Opis Aito. This is certainly as far as a boat coming up the channel could be recognized. The suitors could have intercepted a boat returning via the channel by maintaining a watch on this hill. Concealment of their movements was no more easily possible from Daskalio than from the Bay of Polis. Their attack on Telemachus would occur in about the same spot from whichever place they started. The story of the assembly in Book 2 shows that they had no fear of interference from the islanders. Daskalio had no harbors, no water, apparently no shelter. Why should they leave their comfortable quarters at Ithaca and spend their time waiting for Telemachus on this inhospitable spot? The supposition is certainly not credible. It is even more absurd to suppose that they kept their boat at Port Guiscardo. This point is off the line of return and would greatly reduce their chance of catching Telemachus. The natural thing would have been to station their watch-boat at the south end of the channel, but there is no island there to serve for Asteris. To imagine the existence of one is to create facts of which there is no evidence. If the natural way of return from Pylos to the Bay of Polis was by way of the channel between Leucas and Ithaca (and there is some evidence for this),<sup>2</sup> Arkudi would have served very

<sup>1</sup> I note that Belzner, *Land und Heimat des Odysseus*, p. 26, argues from this same story that Dulichium cannot be north of Ithaca. Lang, *Untersuchungen zur Geographie der Odyssee*, p. 25 f., argues from it that Ithaca was a station on the way to Dulichium.

<sup>2</sup> See *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXXI, pp. 143 ff.

well as a place of ambush. It was remote from the city, and the doings of the suitors would not be noticed. The distance between the island and Marmaka Point, the northerly end of Ithaca, is only three geographic miles, a distance only a little greater than that from Daskalio to the Bay of Polis. The island had a beaching-place (see the boats beached in the photograph in Seymour's book),<sup>1</sup> it had water and a hill to watch from, and it commanded a wide sweep of the sea. There might be a good reason for the suitors going to Arkudi; there is no apparent reason for their going to Daskalio. If Homer knew the islands, it is not easy to see why he should have picked out Daskalio for Asteris, but he might have picked out Arkudi.

On the other hand, if we assume that Homer was not personally acquainted with the islands, but was drawing his descriptions and his story from preexisting sources, there is even less ground for believing that he had Daskalio before him.

In Mycenaean days there was an important trade between the Aegean and the westerly parts of the Mediterranean. Corinth and its isthmus was then, as later, a great centre for this trade. Bérard believes that Agamemnon's keep, Mycenae, drew its importance from its control of trade routes, and that Agamemnon gained his wealth from the toll he levied on commerce.<sup>2</sup> Menelaus and Nestor had doubtless similar but less profitable positions from their command of the land route from the Gulf of Laconia to Pylos. Ithaca is situated at the one spot where all the western trade had to pass the White Rock, Cape Dukato. Odysseus, its master, commanded this important outlet. Arkudi, as one can see from the Chart, was the island best situated for intercepting and levying a toll on this traffic. The distance from the island Oxia at the entrance of the Gulf of Corinth to Cape Dukato, via the channel between Leucas and Ithaca, scales thirty-one geographic miles on the U. S. Chart. The distance from Oxia to this Cape by the Ithaca Channel scales thirty-six geographic miles. The prevailing day breezes, according to the *Mediterranean Pilot*,<sup>3</sup> are from west southwest to northwest. The tendency of the wind in the

<sup>1</sup> Seymour, *Life in the Homeric Age*, pp. 70-71.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée*, I, pp. 78 ff. Shewan (*Classical Review*, XXXII, p. 1) confirms this theory.

<sup>3</sup> III (1917), pp. 417 ff.

offing is to veer south in the morning, north in the afternoon. The course from Oxia to Arkudi is northwest. T. Rice Holmes has a paper in which he proves that ancient ships could sail within seven points of the wind.<sup>1</sup> It was possible, therefore, for ancient ships to sail, at least at times, from Oxia to Arkudi. They obviously could not sail from Oxia to the south end of Ithaca, which is about due west. The night breeze in the Gulf of Patras, according to the *Mediterranean Pilot*, is from northeast to east, that from the shore of Epirus from north to northeast. Here again the wind would be at times favorable for sailing to Arkudi by night. The night breeze generally extends about ten miles from land, occasionally twenty. The sail to Arkudi is within the limit. Ithaca is nineteen geographic miles from Oxia. The breeze would, therefore, rarely reach there. Bérard, it is true, contends that Telemachus set sail for Pylos at night, so as to avail himself of this night breeze;<sup>2</sup> but this is not in accord with the evidence. The poet says, "and flashing-eyed Athene sent them a favorable wind, a strong-blowing west wind, that sang over the wine-dark sea."<sup>3</sup> This is a very good description of the strong northwest wind, Tarantata, which blows here in the summer and winter, but certainly is not the night breeze which blows from the north and is light.<sup>4</sup> The *Mediterranean Pilot* warns sailing boats against the channel on account of squalls and currents. The sail from Oxia via the Leucas channel was distinctly shorter. It had an advantage in the ordinary winds and it was free from the perils of the channel. Can there be any reasonable doubt which way the traders would follow? It has already been shown that similar considerations and the events of Telemachus' return journey point to this route for the commerce from Pylos.<sup>5</sup> The return voyage from the west would certainly follow this route. The usual day winds are favorable and the distance is shorter.

Arkudi is the one island situated on this route best adapted for a place at which to observe and catch this commerce and levy the toll. The channels on each side of it are obviously narrower than any others on the route. It is the nearest island to Polis, the city of Odysseus. It has a hill to watch from, water to drink, and, as will be subsequently

<sup>1</sup> *Classical Quarterly*, III, p. 26.      <sup>4</sup> *Mediterranean Pilot*, III (1917), p. 418.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, pp. 66 ff.

<sup>5</sup> See *H. S. C. P.*, XXXI, pp. 136 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Od.* 2, 420 ff.

shown, a sufficient harbor. It commands a view both ways. It has all the characteristics of an island in a strait from which to prey upon passing commerce, a subject which Bérard treats fully.<sup>1</sup>

It had also corresponding advantages for the merchants. To avail themselves of the prevailing winds, vessels bound for the Adriatic or Italy should be clear of Cape Dukato about 10 A.M. Arkudi is near enough to the Cape to permit this clearance. The night breeze that still blows in the early morning would help the sailors reach this spot. That the Achaean warships were there was an advantage. Payment of toll meant protection, not robbery. The advantages for ancient commerce of a small island at the entrance of a strait are admirably detailed by Bérard.<sup>2</sup>

If the poet and his audience knew the islands, the story Odysseus told Eumaeus is improbable on its face; and so also is the story of an ambush on Daskalio. If neither the poet nor his audience knew the islands, there is no reasonable possibility that Daskalio would be mentioned in his sources. There is a very reasonable probability that Arkudi would be meant, and that it would be referred to in just such a way as would make his audience feel it to be a suitable place for such an ambush. Lying in wait would be associated with this one island, as the toll-gate for the commerce from Pylos and the Gulf, and the audience would enjoy and understand the poet's reference to it.

Probabilities, therefore, point to Arkudi as the island of ambush in the poet's sources.

This probability is somewhat further strengthened by the description of the island. In the *Odyssey* 4, 844 ff., the poet says: "There is a rocky isle in the midst of the sea, midway between Ithaca and rugged Samos, Asteris, of no great size, but therein is a harbor where ships may lie, with an entrance on either side."

In the *Odyssey* 15, 29, the island is referred to as lying in the strait between Ithaca and Samos, and, in 4, 671, the suitors propose to lay the ambush in this strait. In Book 16, 367, the suitors report that they sailed *τὸν πόντον* every night. The first and last of these descriptions do not seem to fit Daskalio so well as Arkudi. Daskalio is not midway between the two islands; Arkudi is very nearly so. From the position of Daskalio in the Ithaca Channel, it seems difficult to imagine

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, pp. 186 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, pp. 186 ff.

how the suitors could have sailed "on the sea" at night. With Arkudi this description fits, for the expanse of water between Ithaca and the mainland might fairly be so called.<sup>1</sup>

In his paper in *Classical Philology* 12, 132 ff., Shewan says that he cannot admit that Arkudi is in a strait, nor that it has the necessary harbors. The first of these propositions is based, as I understand it, not on the meaning of our word 'strait,' but on the theory that *τορθός* meant to the Greeks only a long and narrow channel.<sup>2</sup> It seems probable, however, that though the Greeks used *τορθός* as a designation of the kind of channels which we call 'straits,' the ideas underlying the word are essentially different from those embodied in our word 'strait.' Bérard observes that Homer classifies men by what they eat, we by their color or physical proportions: he further maintains that one classification is quite as scientific as the other.<sup>3</sup> But, whatever we may think of this distinction, the fact remains, and this should make us expect that words in different languages but designating a common object may well arise from quite different combinations of ideas. Our word may denote the same object, but the thought behind it may be quite different from the Greek's.

On this point Homer, I think, gives us a valuable clue to the general concept underlying the word *τορθός*. In the *Odyssey* 20, 187 f., he says, "These had been brought over from the mainland by ferrymen, who send other men, too, on their way, whosoever comes to them." The Greek word here translated 'ferrymen' is *τορθμῆτες*, and in Seymour, there is a note which reads as follows:<sup>4</sup>

*τορθμῆτες* v 187. The ordinary translation of this word is not to be pressed, however, for Herodotus uses the word twice for sailors on the voyage from Tarentum to Corinth (1, 24), and *τορθμῆται* for the barges used to carry grain from Asia to Mt. Athos (VII, 25), and Euripides (*Iph. Taur.* 355) uses *τορθός* of a ship which should bring Helen from Greece to the Taurians. So Pythagoras *διεπορθμεῖθη* from the foot of Mt. Carmel to Egypt, *ὑπό τινων Αἴγυπτιων πορθμέων*, Iamblichus, *Pyth.* III, 14. But the general force of the argument remains.

<sup>1</sup> Bérard, *op. cit.*, II, p. 450, says, "Port Frikais, baigné par la mer du large."

<sup>2</sup> Lang (*Untersuchungen zur Geographie der Odyssee*, pp. 38 ff.) entertains the same opinion, but Goessler and other supporters of Dörpfeld's theory contest it.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, pp. 99 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Life in the Homeric Age*, p. 71. I am indebted to Professor Herbert Weir Smyth for this reference.

It is quite obvious that our word 'ferrymen' does not fit these passages, and that the word *πορθμῆτες* has a broader meaning. What this meaning was is quite apparent if we turn back to Homer. He himself defines what he means by *πορθμῆτες* by adding "who send other men, too, on their way, whosoever comes to them." This is almost identical with the ordinary meaning of our expression 'common carrier.' In Webster's *International Dictionary*, we read, "Common carrier (Law), one who undertakes the office of carrying (goods or persons) for hire." This is exactly what the *πορθμῆτες* in Homer were doing. Homer does not mention their compensation, but he could properly leave that to be understood. Certainly no persons would engage in the business of public carriers without expecting and receiving compensation. It is hardly necessary to add that I do not mean that all the special incidents of liability, duty, etc., which are now embodied by us in these words, were in the mind of Homer or of his contemporaries. I merely mean that he defines his *πορθμῆτες* as men engaged in the business of public transportation, and that in general is what we mean by 'common carrier.' Therefore, it seems to me that this expression fits the conception of the poet more accurately than our word 'ferrymen.' Ferrymen, of course, are one kind of common carrier; but when we consider the long sail from Elis to Ithaca, the expression 'common carrier' not only makes as good sense as the word 'ferrymen,' but suits the context much better.

If *πορθμεύς* means a common carrier, it seems reasonable to infer that in some way *πορθμός* signified to the Greek mind the route or journey which their *πορθμῆτες* followed. We have no single word or phrase which exactly conveys this idea, nor have we any word for the ship or boat used by such persons in their business. The Greeks apparently had a set of words all founded on the same stem to express each of these and other kindred conceptions. As for *πορθμός*, the nearest expression in English which seems to me to contain the idea is 'trade-route.' If now we substitute these words for strait as a translation of *πορθμός* in the only two places where the word occurs in the *Odyssey*, we shall find the context quite as intelligible as it was before, and the apparent contradiction between midsea and strait will be removed. There was only one trade-route in these waters and that lay between Ithaca and Leucas. To say that Asteris was in the trade-

route between these islands was quite as clear and positive as to say that it was in the strait between them.

If *πορθμός* meant to the Greek mind something akin to our word 'trade-route', it is easy to see how it may have come to mean strait. All ancient trade-routes ran by inside courses where possible. Therefore, they must have always run through straits. In fact, if we take a map of Greece and look for straits, they all seem to be located where trade would pass through them. The Hellespont is a conspicuous example. The *πορθμός* between Salamis and Attica is probably another.

To call a channel between land or islands a trade-route is quite as specific as our word 'strait.' We use the word 'strait' in a number of different ways and call such channels straits because our word has a general significance which denotes their physical character. It is certainly quite as natural to find an appellation for them in their general use, and that, it appears to me, is just what the Greeks may have done. This conclusion seems confirmed by the several passages cited in Liddell & Scott's *Greek Lexicon* illustrating the meaning of *πορθμός*. The editors refer first to the two passages in the *Odyssey* already mentioned; but these, as we have seen, are quite consistent with the fundamental meaning of the word just suggested. In fact, this meaning fits the context better than the word 'strait.' The next citation is from Herodotus,<sup>1</sup> where the word is used of the straits of Salamis. This was evidently the route for all trade between Athens and the settlements on the Bay of Eleusis, and probably for that between Megara and Athens. Bérard argues that prior to the Persian War Athens depended on other places for its ocean-borne commerce, and among them he names Megara.<sup>2</sup> It is possible, therefore, that the description of this strait as a *πορθμός* came from its use. The next reference is to a passage in which the word is used to designate the Hellespont. Here we have a clear case of a channel which was a noted trade-route. The next reference is to the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus

<sup>1</sup> 8, 76, 91.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* I, p. 181: in vol. I, p. 203, he says, "le golfe d'Eleusis avait pour grande entrée et pour grande sortie, pour porte commerciale presque unique, non plus le détroit de Mégare, mais la passe du nord-est, le détroit de Psyttalis," evidently from the map the strait of Salamis.

307, *πορθμός Σαρωνικός*. The sentence in which these words occur is translated by Allinson<sup>1</sup> as follows: "O'er the height that overlooks the Saronic Gulf it onward flared." That 'Gulf' is the correct rendering of *πορθμός* as used in this passage seems apparent from the context. The words occur in a description by the poet of the flashing of a signal from Troy to Argos. The course is described as first to Lemnos, then to Athos, Euboea, across the Euripus to Mt. Messapius, then on over Boeotia, through the isthmus to the Arachnaean Mountains, whence it is seen at Argos. There is nothing in the way of a long, narrow channel to be seen in the Saronic Gulf from this course. If, as indicated in the translation quoted, the word refers to the Gulf itself, it seems obvious that Aeschylus did not regard the word *πορθμός* as limited in meaning to long and narrow channels. On the other hand, the expression 'trade-route' fits the passage admirably. The Saronic Gulf was one of the great trade-routes of ancient Greece. Corinth, its great commercial city, was located at the head of the Gulf; and the importance of the isthmus as a trade centre has been already shown. This expression is also in keeping with the whole Aeschylean passage. The description sounds as if the flare was following a well known route of commerce, and to use a word expressing this general idea to designate the Saronic Gulf was not only in harmony with its character as a trade-route, but more appropriate to the whole picture presented by the poet.

The next reference is to a passage where the word is used to designate the Styx.<sup>2</sup> This, of course, is hardly a trade-route in its ordinary sense, but it was a customary route, and trade-route undoubtedly implies the transportation of passengers as well as merchandise.

The two following references are to the use of the word to designate the Straits of Messina.<sup>3</sup> Here again we have a place which was undoubtedly a trade-route for ancient commerce.

Then follows the statement — "generally, *the sea*," with a citation from Pindar.<sup>4</sup> Surely, a word meaning only a long, narrow channel is not an appropriate expression for the sea; but calling the sea a trade-route is very much like our referring to it as the "Highway of the Nations."

<sup>1</sup> *Greek Lands and Letters*, pp. 11 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Plat.* 345 D; *Arist. Mirab.* 55, fr. 238.

<sup>3</sup> *Eur. Hec.* 1106.

<sup>4</sup> 1, 4, 97 (3, 75).

It seems hardly necessary to pursue these references further.<sup>1</sup> Evidently, a word which could be used as a designation of the Saronic Gulf, or of the Sea, was not limited in meaning to a long and narrow channel. It clearly had nothing to do with the physical characteristics of the objects to which it was applied. The Hellespont has no physical resemblance to the Saronic Gulf, beyond the fact that they are both filled with salt water. They both, however, served the purposes of commerce. Both were trade-routes of great importance, and *τορθούς* must have contained some such fundamental meaning to be applicable to them both.

Homer has defined *τορθούεις*, in the only passage where he uses it,<sup>2</sup> in terms which are almost identical with our definition of common carrier. Its kindred word *τορθούς* would seem to owe its origin to some similar association of ideas, and to be best represented by our phrase 'trade-route.' This expression fits easily into the only two places where the poet uses *τορθούς*, and eliminates what may be regarded as difficulties with the context if we translate it by our word 'strait.' The usage of later writers is conclusive that its meaning is not limited to strait and that the same expression, 'trade-route,' is suitable to the context and expresses the one common thought underlying its use. It seems reasonable to infer, therefore, that *τορθούς* was used by Homer in some such general sense; and, if so, this very nearly settles the question of Asteris. Arkudi is certainly the only island in any probable trade route which ran between Ithaca and one of the other islands.

Instead, therefore, of finding any difficulty in identifying Arkudi as Asteris because Asteris was *ἐν τορθούῳ* between Ithaca and Samos, it really seems as if this fact identified it beyond question.

In regard to the twin harbors in Arkudi, there appears to be more difficulty, but certainly the question ought not to be decided by our conception of a suitable harbor. In Homer's time the boats were usually beached at night. Any sandy isthmus protected by the land or a larger island at one end and by an islet at the other would have afforded all that they needed. Take this case of Arkudi. The prevailing winds and the strong winds in the summer season were southwest to northwest. From all such winds the water on the east side

<sup>1</sup> See additional note, p. 76.

<sup>2</sup> *Od.* 20, 187.

of the island was protected. Northeast gales are not frequent or of long duration in summer; and there is only a relatively short stretch of open water at this place in which to raise a sea. Marblehead harbor, in Massachusetts, is open to the northeast. On the eastern side of the Neck, which forms its easterly boundary, there lies the open Atlantic. The entrance to the harbor is sheltered by the outlying islands, but here there is an open stretch of nearly four miles. I have spent my summers there for many years; and though a northeaster can raise a sea, I have never seen a storm that would make a surf on the harbor shore injurious to a boat drawn up on the beach. At Arkudi there is no ocean swell possible, and the distance from Meganisi does not seem far enough to permit a dangerous sea to arise. On the southerly side of the little isthmus it is different. Here there is a stretch of open water; but the little island at the outer end makes an elbow with the isthmus, as appears from the photographs reproduced by Seymour and by Manly; and to judge from the appearance of the isthmus as shown in these pictures, it certainly does not seem possible that any southeasterly storm, such as might occur in summer, would cause a sufficient surf to injure boats drawn up on the beach inside the spit near the main island. It is true that Manly says the waves would dash over the isthmus.<sup>1</sup> Whether this is merely an opinion or a statement of facts observed by himself or by another is not clear; and unless it is so founded, the statement does not seem probable for the summer season. Even, however, if it be true, the water inside the spit would be free from such waves. Everyone who has lived on the sea-shore knows that a breakwater awash at high tide will protect boats lying in its shelter. Manatt says that the native boats still use the shelter of this isthmus when occasion demands, and this positive testimony is certainly important.<sup>2</sup>

As for the twin harbors, does not this little isthmus produce exactly this one feature? According to the Homeric account, the prehistoric navigators, instead of anchoring, pulled their boats up on shore. Naturally they needed for this purpose a suitable beach, but they also needed an opportunity to launch again in the morning. A low isthmus was the ideal place for such a purpose. One side of it was sure to be

<sup>1</sup> *Itaca or Leucas* (*Univ. of Missouri Studies*, II, p. 36).

<sup>2</sup> *Aegean Days*, pp. 384 ff.

reasonably free from surf. If the wind changed in the night, a short additional haul would enable the seamen to launch safely on the other side of the isthmus and pursue their way. Champault finds the two ports of Scheria in just such a formation, and whatever we may think of his identification, it does not alter the importance of this discussion.<sup>1</sup>

Bérard thinks Cumae an important trading post, but it had no port except a sandy beach.<sup>2</sup> Monemvasia, ancient Minoa, had just such harbor facilities, though on a larger scale, as the little isthmus of Arkudi. It was also far more exposed to the gales sweeping the Aegean. Manatt, who saw Arkudi, describes its harbors as the duplicate in a small way of the twin harbors of Mytilene.

Manly<sup>3</sup> says that the isthmus is rocky, and the photographs reproduced by him and Seymour would not indicate any very favorable place for beaching boats. However, they both show the ship's boats of the party of excursionists drawn up at the outer end of the isthmus in the angle of the islet. There must, therefore, have been some beach for hauling out.

It is not probable that any very large amount of accommodation was required. The Achaeans would not be likely to keep many war boats there to collect the toll; and as the island could not have been used by the merchants for more than a short stop, it would not appear that much beaching space was required.

Unless, therefore, it can be shown that neither side of this isthmus afforded a reasonable chance to beach the Homeric boats, there does not seem sufficient reason to question its fitness to answer to Homer's twin ports.

#### NOTE

Stephanus, *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, cites the following passages in addition to those referred to in the foregoing article.

Soph., *Trach.*, 571.  $\pi\alpha\rho\theta\mu\delta$  here seems to mean 'ferry,' but a ferry is only one kind of trade-route, just as a ferryman is one kind of common carrier, and the general term is applicable just as 'horse' is for 'mare.' All mares are horses, but not all horses are mares.

<sup>1</sup> *Phéniciens et Grecs en Italie d'après l'Odyssée*, pp. 97 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, pp. 119 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 36.

Eur., *Hel.*, 127. Helen is talking about the return from Troy, and it does not seem possible that *πορθμός* can here mean strait. On the other hand, when we remember how Nestor described to Telemachus the three routes back from Lesbos, the idea of 'trade-route' or 'customary route' appears to fit the context.

*Ibid.*, 532. Here again *πορθμός* can hardly be confined to straits. Our expression 'trade-route' may not be the best way of rendering the Greek in this passage, but certainly the conception behind it, that Menelaus had been sailing over many of the routes traversed by commerce, fits the passage better than any idea expressed by the word 'strait,' i.e., a long, narrow channel; and it is easy to see how the commercial term could be used in a wider sense.

Eur., *Cyc.*, 108. Here again *πορθμόν* cannot mean strait. The ordinary translation seems to be 'passage'; but surely the translation, "How? Didst thou not know the trade-route (customary way) to thy native land?" fits the context better.

Soph., *Ant.*, 1145. The reference here is to the Euripus, which was a famous trade route; does not "the moaning trade-route" fit better than the "moaning sea"?

Eur., *Tro.*, 102. *πορθμόν* may here mean 'strait'; but if the passage can be rendered 'sail on a trade-route, sail for fortune,' it gives a very picturesque expression of exactly what our merchant captains used to do in the last century.

The three lexicographers who have defined *πορθμός* as a *στενὸν τῆς θαλάσσης* are Hesychius, Photius, and Suidas.

It is easy to understand, however, that a word becomes limited in meaning with progress in time; and if we compare the use of *πορθμός* by the great classical writers with these definitions, this would seem to have been exactly what has happened to this word. It may also explain why modern scholars think its meaning is limited as expressed in these definitions.

I do not intend, of course, to maintain that our expression 'trade-route' should always be used to render *πορθμός*. As I have said, I think we have no single expression which conveys all the shades of meaning contained in this word. 'Trade-route' is simply the nearest expression we have which embodies the same conceptions as are contained in the Greek, and in some passages, notably in those in the *Odyssey*, it seems to render the sense of Homer better than our word 'strait.' The fact that Homer, after using *πορθμόν*, added an explanation of its meaning, would indicate that the word was more or less a technical expression, which might be misunderstood. It also seems probable from Homer's use of *πορθμόν* that the expression arose in connection with commerce, and I submit therefore that *πορθμός* should be interpreted in a similar manner.



## BROWNING'S ANCIENT CLASSICAL SOURCES

BY THURMAN LOS HOOD

BROWNING'S discernible borrowings from Greek and Latin range from quotation and translation to reminiscence and imitation; they sometimes contain allusions to the sources, but generally they do not; they sometimes represent commingled sources, ancient and modern; they sometimes appear to come from works so little drawn upon by the poet that on the slender basis of one or two suspected borrowings it is unsafe to infer that he was familiar with them. The vigorous assimilation to which he subjected his classical materials at once increases the interest and diminishes the assurance of attempts to add to the body of sources already determined. In general, however, attributions may be securely established — not the less so through the mere increasing of the number of analogies considered. A view of the entire available evidence of Browning's direct indebtedness to the Classics is sometimes as illuminating with regard to a single detail as it is with regard to the total relationship between the poet and his Classics.<sup>1</sup>

In connection with *Balaustion's Adventure* and *Aristophanes' Apology*, a sharp distinction is to be drawn between what comes from ancient sources directly and what comes primarily from Browning's immediate predecessors and contemporaries in classical interpretation. August Wilhelm Schlegel is Balaustion's "critic-friend of Syracuse," whose criticism is so repugnant to her in *Balaustion's Adventure*. His *Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature* determined many points and provided many details on which Browning focused attention in

<sup>1</sup> This monograph includes much of the material in a dissertation on *Browning's Later Hellenic Poems*, submitted to the Faculty of Harvard University in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. For aid in the preparation of that dissertation, thanks are particularly due to Professor Le Baron Russell Briggs, Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, and to Professor Carl Newell Jackson. Professor Edward Kennard Rand has also given valuable assistance in connection with certain portions of this monograph.

*Aristophanes' Apology*; indeed, in that poem it is Schlegel's criticism of Aristophanes that provides most of the ideas about Aristophanes' work, and his notorious antipathy to Euripides that Browning makes the chief object of attack. From Augustus Meineke's *Historia Critica Comicorum Graecorum*<sup>1</sup> Browning drew in *Aristophanes' Apology* not only the critical judgments of the writers of the Old Comedy<sup>2</sup> but the particulars of the ancient laws and other checks restraining Comedy. The *Scholia in Aristophanem* contained the information which Meineke adduced regarding these laws and checks; Browning, it is clear, had also read the *Scholia*; but the use of this class of material in *Aristophanes' Apology* is of such a nature as to indicate primary indebtedness to Meineke. John Addington Symonds's *Studies of the Greek Poets* (First Series) suggested not only many of the critical ideas in *Aristophanes' Apology* but something of its tone. The works of Landor exercised conspicuous influence. It is only in the light of such associations that Browning can be criticized as a Victorian Hellenist.<sup>3</sup> But between such considerations and the task of identifying Browning's direct borrowings from ancient sources a sharp line should be drawn.

There is in Browning's works, moreover, a large element of classicism that can hardly be definitely correlated with the ancient sources on which it very probably depends. There is much mythology of a general and familiar sort; there are a few thrice-familiar quotations; there are some details of ancient life, of indeterminate origin; there are a dozen passages suggested by ancient sculpture; and there are several details from the Vulgate, the Greek New Testament, Church Latin, and Law Latin. All these belong to a separate field of investigation.

Among the more important contributions to the knowledge of Browning's ancient sources should be mentioned Mrs. Sutherland Orr's *Handbook to the Works of Robert Browning*; Professor Carl

<sup>1</sup> Volume I of Meineke's edition of the *Fragmenta Comicorum Graecorum*.

<sup>2</sup> See Carl Newell Jackson: "Classical Elements in Browning's *Aristophanes' Apology*," in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XX (1909), p. 54, n.

<sup>3</sup> The writer has investigated Browning's relations to Schlegel, Symonds, Landor, Edward Fitzgerald, and Meineke, in the dissertation mentioned above (p. 79, n. 1), and hopes soon to publish a detailed account of them.

Newell Jackson's monograph on "Classical Elements in Browning's *Aristophanes' Apology*," in Volume XX of the *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*; the introductions by Sir F. G. Kenyon in the Centenary Edition of Browning's *Works*; and Mr. A. K. Cook's *Commentary upon Browning's THE RING AND THE BOOK*. The dependence of the present investigation on these authorities is so obvious as to make individual acknowledgment of the first printed mention of particular sources needless, even were it convenient.

The method here employed in setting forth the *loci classici* is designed to disclose the chronology of Browning's borrowings from the various ancient writers. The ensuing sections follow the alphabetic order of the names of Greek and Latin writers, and within each section the analogies are arranged in the chronological order of Browning's poems. The numbering of the lines is that of the Centenary Edition. The following abbreviations are employed: *R. & B.* for *The Ring and the Book*, *B. A.* for *Balaustion's Adventure*, and *A. A.* for *Aristophanes' Apology*. Except to identify phrases, passages from the poems are not quoted; similarly, if the location of the source is the most important information about it, it is merely referred to. Translations are employed except when special point rests in the reproduction of the original words.

#### BROWNING AND AELIAN

*Sordello*, III, 900, "Tempe's dewy vale": *Varia Historia*, 3, 1. Browning's phrase here is of course too familiar to warrant the assertion that Aelian's great description of the vale of Tempe suggested it; but it may have done so.

*R. & B.* I, 232-237: *De Animalium Natura*, 11, 15. The story in Aelian runs as follows: *υῦν δὲ ξοικα λέξειν ἐλέφαντος δρυγῆν ἐς γάμον ἀδικούμενον. μοιχευομένην γάρ τὴν τοῦ πωλεύσαντος αὐτὸν καὶ τρέφοντος γυναικα ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ καταλαβών, δι' ἀμφοτέρων θάτερον διεῖς τοῦν κεράτοιν, ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τὸν μοιχόν καὶ τὴν μοιχευομένην, καὶ εἴσε κεῖσθαι κατὰ τῶν στρωμάτων τῶν ὑβρισμένων καὶ τῆς εἰνῆς τῆς πεπατημένης, ὡς ἐλθόντα τὸν πωλευτὴν καταγράνων καὶ τὸ ἀδικημα καὶ τὸν τιμωρήσαντα αὐτῷ γυναῖσι. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν Ἰνδικὸν τὸ ἔργον, ἐκεῖνον δὲ ἐξεφοίτησε δεῦρο· ἀκοίω δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ Τίτου ἀνδρὸς καλῷ καὶ ἀγαθῷ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ταῦτα γεγονέναι· προστιθέσι δὲ διτὶ ἄρα δὲ ἐνθάδε ἐλέφας*

ἀπέκτενεν ἀμφοτέρους, καὶ ἵματις κατεκάλυψε, καὶ ἐλθόρτι τῷ τροφεῖ ἀποβαλὼν τὸ ἵματιν κειμένους ἀλλήλων τλησιον ἀπέδεξε, καὶ τὸ κέρας δὲ, φτερὸν διέπειρεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ τοῦτο ὑμαγμένον ἐωράτο. Cf. R. & B. VIII, 511-521.

R. & B. VIII, 511-521,<sup>1</sup> under R. & B. I, 232-237, above.

A. A. 118-119: *Varia Historia*, 4, 22, 'The ancient Athenians clad themselves in purple mantles, and wore tunics of varied colors.'

A. A. 316-317: *Varia Historia*, 2, 21, 'Archelaus praised this, the story goes. And the poet Euripides also loved this same Agathon, and is said to have composed the drama of *Chrysippus* to please him.' And *Varia Historia*, 13, 4, 'Archelaus rex sumptuosum convivium amicis apparavit: increbescente autem compotatione, quum meracius biberet Euripides, sensim in ebrietatem est delapsus. Deinde accumbentem sibi Agathonem, tragicum poetam, complectens exosculatus est, annos circiter quadraginta natum. Archelao autem interrogante, an etiamnum ipsi in deliciis habendus videtur? respondit, Per Jovem, omnino: non enim ver solum formosorum est pulcherrimum, verum etiam autumnus.' (Hercher's version.) These passages not only establish the friendship of Euripides and Agathon, but their simultaneous presence at the court of Archelaus, mentioned in A. A. 1203-1205. Cf. A. A. 1443-1444.

A. A. 448-452: *Varia Historia*, 4, 22, 'The ancient Athenians wore purple mantles and varicolored tunics; and setting clusters of flowers upon their locks, and golden grasshoppers among them, and putting on other ornaments of gold, walked abroad. And boys followed them with folding chairs, lest they should be obliged to sit down fortuitously, as chance might hap. It is evident, also, that their diet and the rest of their way of living were rather delicate. But though such they were, they won the day at Marathon.' On A. A. 451, "golden tettix in his hair," see "Browning and Thucydides."

<sup>1</sup> That Browning was not sure where he had seen this story may be implied by the words with which Dominus Hyacinthus is made to introduce the tale:

witness him

That Aelian cites, the noble elephant,  
(Or if not Aelian, somebody as sage)

*A. A. 742-746: Varia Historia*, 1, 20, 'He (Dionysius) even ordered his men to remove the silver table from the temple of Apollo, proposing to the god the pledge to the Good Genius.' The proposal of this pledge was designed, of course, to indicate to the god that the feast was over, and that he would no longer need the table. Cf. *A. A. 780; 1350-1351; 1353; 1393; 1473; and 1543*. See also "Browning and Aristophanes" and "Browning and Athenaeus."

*A. A. 780*, under *A. A. 742-746*, above.

*A. A. 1203-1205*, under *A. A. 316-317*, above.

*A. A. 1350-1351*, under *A. A. 742-746*, above.

*A. A. 1353*, under *A. A. 742-746*, above.

*A. A. 1393*, under *A. A. 742-746*, above.

*A. A. 1443-1444*, under *A. A. 316-317*, above.

*A. A., 1473*, under *A. A. 742-746*, above.

*A. A. 1543*, under *A. A. 742-746*, above.

*A. A. 1556-1560: Varia Historia*, 2, 13, δῆλα γὰρ δὴ δτι καὶ οἱ σκευοτοιοὶ ἔπλασαν αὐτὸν ὡς δτι μάλιστα ἔξεικάσαντες, κ. τ. λ.

That is, 'the maskmakers'<sup>1</sup> had done Socrates to the life.

*A. A. 2183-2184*, "praise away, Friend Socrates": *Varia Historia*, 2, 13, 'Indeed, Socrates rarely went to the theatre save when the tragic poet was contesting with new plays; but then he went. And when Euripides contested in the Piraeus, he went there also. For he loved the man not only on account of his wisdom but on account of the goodness of his poetry.'

<sup>1</sup> Light is thrown on the mistaking of these maskmakers for "potters" by a letter of the poet's to Elizabeth Barrett, dated March 6, 1846, nearly thirty years before the publication of the *Apology*. In it, Browning quotes a portion of Chapter XIX of Bartoli's *Simboli* which reproduces Aelian's account of Socrates at the performance of the *Clouds*. "He describes the character of Socrates," writes Browning, "then tells the story of the representation of the *Clouds*, and thus gets to his 'symbol' — 'le pazzie fatte spacciare a Socrate in quella commedia . . . il misero in tanto scherno e derisione del pubblico, che perfino i vasai dipingevano il suo ritratto sopra gli orci, i fiaschi, i boccali, e ogni vasellamento da più vile servizio. Così quel sommo filosofo . . . fu condotto a far di se par le case d'Atene una continua commedia, con solamente vederlo comparir così scontraffatto e 'ridicolo, come i vasai sel formavano d'invenzione' —

"There you have what a very clever man can say in choice Tuscan on a passage in Aelian which he takes care not to quote nor allude to, but which is the sole authority for the fact. Aelian, speaking of Socrates' magnanimity, says that on the

A. A. 3296-3301: *Varia Historia*, 2, 13. The main substance of the story in Aelian appears in the quotation from Browning's letter to Elizabeth Barrett, under A. A. 1556-1560, above.

A. A. 5477: *Varia Historia*, 12, 43, 'Callicratidas, Gylippus, and Lysander were called *Mothaces* in Lacedaemonia. The name was given to the slaves of the wealthy whom the fathers sent to share in exercising with their sons. Lycurgus, in establishing this custom, granted to those who remained in the company of young men the right of participation in public affairs.' See "Browning and Athenaeus."

#### BROWNING AND AESCHYLUS<sup>1</sup>

*Pauline*, 567-571: *Agamemnon*.

*Sordello*, I, 65-68, refers to the plays of Aeschylus as "The thunder-phrase of the Athenian, grown Up out of memories of Marathon." . . . "his own sword's griding screech Braying a Persian shield," may have been suggested by the statement in the ancient *Vita*, γενναῖον δὲ αὐτὸν φασὶ καὶ μετασχεῖν τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχης σὺν τῷ ἀδελφῷ Κυνεγείρῳ, and by the epitaph recorded in the *Vita*:

Αἰσχύλον Εὐφορίωνος Ἀθηναῖον τόδε κείθει  
μνῆμα καταφθίμενον πυροφόρῳ Γέλας·  
ἀλκὴν δ' εὐδόκιμον Μαραθῶνιον ἄλσος ἀν εἴτοι  
καὶ βαθυχαίτηεις Μῆδος ἐπιστάμενος.

first representation, a good many foreigners being present who were at a loss to know 'who could be this Socrates' — the sage himself stood up that he might be pointed out to them by the auditory at large . . . 'which' says Aelian — 'was no difficulty for them, to whom his features were most familiar, — *the very potters being in the habit of decorating their vessels with his likeness*' — no doubt out of a pleasant and affectionate admiration. Yet see how 'people' can turn this out of its sense, — 'say' their say on the simplest, plainest word or deed, and change it to its opposite!"

Both Bartoli and Browning are mistranslating *σκευοτοι*, as 'potters' instead of 'maskmakers.' The error is due to the fact that *σκεῦος* may mean 'pot.' In the Latin version of Justus Wetteranus (printed "apud Ioan. Tornaeium. Typogr. Reg. Lugd. MDXXCVII") the line is translated 'non mirum si etiam visus in histriorum personis: nam figulos etiam pulchre eum persaepe expressiisse constat.' Browning was by no means alone in the mistake.

<sup>1</sup> Under this head are included materials adduced not only from the plays but from the *Scholia* and the *Vita*.

*Sordello*, III, 951-959, compares Landor with Aeschylus, referring to Landor's poems in which Aeschylus figures, and in the words "You who, Plataea and Salamis being scant, Put up with Aetna for a stimulant" apparently comparing the wanderings of Landor to the journey of Aeschylus to Sicily at the end of his life, as recorded in the *Vita*. We learn from the *Vita* also that Aeschylus bore a noble part τῆς τε ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίας σὺν τῷ νεωτάτῳ τῷ  
ἀδελφῷ Ἀμειρίᾳ, καὶ τῆς ἐν Πλαταιαῖς πενταμαχίας. Similar materials are used in "Aeschylus' Soliloquy."

"Artemis Prologizes," 21, "lust that, as the gadbee stings," seems reminiscent of the *oīστρος* of *Prometheus Vinctus*, 566 and 879; but the *oīστρος* was used often as the symbol of mania by Sophocles and Euripides elsewhere than in these famous lines in the *Prometheus*.

*A Blot in the 'Scutcheon*, Act III, Scene I, 220-222, is suggested by the *Eumenides*, primarily.

*Christmas-Eve*, 1104, "the halt and maimed 'Iketides,' refers to the condition of the text of that play.

*Easter-Day*, 329-335: *Prometheus Vinctus*, 250-252,

'*Prometheus*. Yes, I stopped mortals from ever looking forward to their fate.

*Chorus*. By devising what remedy of that malady?

*Prometheus*. I caused blind hopes to dwell among them.'

"Cleon," 305, mentions the plays of Aeschylus.

"A Death in the Desert," 530-537, refers to the story of the *Prometheus*, and especially to lines 109-111, in which Prometheus says, 'I obtained by stealth the source of fire, stored away in a fennel-stalk; (that little spark) which has proved to mankind the teacher of every art and their great resource.'

*R. & B. X*, 347-352: *Agamemnon*, 813-816.

*B. A.* 76-80: *Persae*, 400-405: δεύτερον δ' ὁ πᾶς στόλος | ἐπεξεχώρει, καὶ παρῆν δμοῦ κλίειν | πολλὴν βοήν, 'ῳ παῖδες Ἑλλήνων ἵτε, | ἐλευθεροῦτε πατρίδ', ἐλευθεροῦτε δὲ | παῖδας, γυναῖκας, θεῶν τε πατρών ἔδη, | θῆκας τέ προγόνων· νῦν ὑπέρ πάντων ἀγάν.'

The same song is referred to as by Aeschylus in *B. A.* 97-98. Cf. *B. A.* 104-105 and 130-132; *A. A.* 3179-3181; and "Pheidippides," 76-77. It is by no means strange that this remarkable lyric, ap-

pearing at the critical moment of Athenian history, should have been often in Browning's mind.

B. A. 97-98, under B. A. 76-80, above.

B. A. 104-105, under B. A. 76-80, above.

B. A. 130-132, under B. A. 76-80, above.

*Fifine at the Fair*, 905-907. "Theosutos e broteios eper kekramene," etc., comes from *Prometheus Vinctus*, 116. Cf. *Fifine at the Fair*, 2210; 2216.

*Fifine at the Fair*, 2210, under *ibid.* 905-907, above.

*Fifine at the Fair*, 2212-2226: *Prometheus Vinctus*, 115-135:

Πρ. τίς ἀχώ, τίς δδμὰ προσέπτα μ' ἀφεγγής,  
θεσντος, ή βρότειος, ή κεκραμένη;  
ἴκετο τερμόνιον ἐπὶ πάγον  
πόνων ἔμων θεωρός, ή τί δὴ θέλων;  
δράτε δεσμώτην με δύσποτμον θέν,  
τὸν Διὸς ἔχθρόν, τὸν πᾶσι θεοῖς  
δι' ἀπεχθειας ἐλθόνθ' ὀπέσοι  
τὴν Διὸς αἰλήν εἰσοιχνεῦσιν,  
διὰ τὴν λίαν φιλότητα βροτῶν.  
φεῦ φεῦ, τί ποτ' αὖ κινάθισμα κλεω  
πέλας οιωνῶν; αἰθήρ δ' ἐλαφραῖς  
πτερύγων ρυπαῖς ὑποσυρίζει.  
πᾶν μοι φοβερὸν τὸ προσέρπον.

Χο. μηδὲν φοβηθῆς· φιλία γάρ ἀδε τάξις  
πτερύγων θοαῖς ἀμίλλαις  
προσέβα τὸνδε πάγον, πατρώας  
μόγις παρεικοῦσα φρένας.  
κραυπνοφόροι δὲ μ' ἐπεμψαν αὐραι·  
κτύπου γάρ ἀχώ χάλυβος διῆξεν ἄντρων  
μυχόν, ἐκ δ' ἐπληξέ μον τὸν θεμερῶπιν αἰδῶ·  
στήην δ' ἀπέδιλος δχψ πτερωτῷ.

and *ibid.*, 515-518.

Χο. τίς οὖν ἀνάγκης ἐστὶν οἰακοστρόφος;

Πρ. Μοῖραι τρίμορφοι μνήμονές τ' Ἐρινίες.

Χο. τούτων δρα Ζεύς ἐστιν ἀσθενέστερος;

Πρ. οὐκον ἀν ἐκφύγοι γε τὴν πεπρωμένην.

A. A. 65-69: *Choephoroe*, 935-961, 'Chorus, As Justice came to the sons of Priam in the course of time, a Justice bringing heavy retribution,' etc.

A. A. 121, mentions Aeschylus.

A. A. 146-147: *Eumenides*, 46-59, 'And in front of this man there sleeps a wondrous troop of women reposing on seats: women indeed I call them not, but Gorgons; and yet again I cannot compare them to Gorgon forms,' etc. 'This man' is Orestes 'at the central altar' (*Eumenides*, 40).

A. A. 161, "How Klutaimnestra hated": *Agamemnon*.

A. A. 251, refers to Aeschylus as dead before Euripides.

A. A. 716-719: *Vita*, *ad fin.*, mentions that it was more difficult for Aeschylus to improve tragedy as much as he did over 'Thespis, Phrynicus, and Choerilus' than for Sophocles to advance it a little further over Aeschylus. For the fact of Aeschylus' drinking when he wrote, see "Browning and Athenaeus."

A. A. 750, "laughed a ripply spread of sun and sea": *Prometheus Vinctus*, 89-90, ποντίων τε κυμάτων | ἀνθριθμον γέλασμα. Cf. "Gerard de Lairesse," 208-209.

A. A. 1566: *Prometheus Vinctus*, 803, if ἀκραγεῖς means 'shrilly croaking,' as is suggested by Professor A. O. Prickard, in the note *ad loc.* in Appendix B, p. 98, of his edition of the *Prometheus* (Oxford, 1907).

A. A. 1986-1987, "Aischulos might hail — With Pindaros," makes use apparently of the information in the *Vita* that Aeschylus and Pindar were contemporaries.

A. A. 2019, refers to the *Oresteia* (*i.e.*, the *Agamemnon*, the *Choephoroe*, and the *Eumenides*).

A. A. 2133-2137, clearly is designed to represent the religion of tragedy preceding Euripides, and may be specifically reminiscent of *Prometheus Vinctus*, 526-552, where the Chorus begins, 'Never may Zeus the dispenser of all things set his authority in opposition to my will: never may I be tardy in approaching the gods with holy sacrifices of slaughtered oxen by the ever-flowing stream of my father Ocean, and never may I offend in my words.'

A. A. 2477, refers to Aeschylus as orthodox.

A. A. 2937-2938, refers to the *Prometheus* and the other plays of Aeschylus.

*A. A.* 3179-3181, under *B. A.* 76-80, above.

*A. A.* 5632-5633, "eleleleu": *Prometheus Vinctus*, 877.

"Epilogue" (to the *Pachiarotto* volume), 61, mentions Aeschylus and Pindar together. Cf. *A. A.* 1986-1987, above, for the possible source.

*The Agamemnon of Aeschylus* is a translation of the entire play.

*La Saisiaz*, 579, "thou pine-tree of Makistos, wide thy giant torch I wave!" *Agamemnon*, 287-289, "the force of this onward-sped torch with its welcome message, — when the pine-fire, I say, had forwarded its golden light, as a sun, to the heights of Macistus" . . . (Paley's version). Browning's version of the *Agamemnon*, 310, reads, "Pass on — the pine-tree — to Makistos' watch-place." There is no pine-tree of Macistus mentioned in the Greek, and many editors hold that *πένη*, line 288, should be emended to *πέμπει*.

"Pheidippides," 76-77, under *B. A.* 76-80, above.

"Jochanan Hakkadosh," 696-697, "kick 'Against the pricks,'" duplicates the familiar phrase of the *Prometheus Vinctus*, 325, *πρὸς κέντρα κῶλον ἐκτενεῖς*. Cf. "Daniel Bartoli," 241.

"Bernard de Mandeville," 204-206, states that Euripides expounds myths better than Aeschylus, in harmonizing the eternal and the human.

"Bernard de Mandeville," 300-305, mentions the service of Prometheus to man; *Prometheus*, especially 254-256,

'*Pro.* But beside all this, it was I that gave them fire.

*Cho.* And do these beings of a day now possess the bright element?

*Pro.* Yes, from which they will learn to practise many arts.'

"Daniel Bartoli," 241, under "Jochanan Hakkadosh," 696-697, above.

"Gerard de Lairesse," 170, "blame the Protoplasm!" It is barely possible that the name may have been suggested to Browning by the following sentence in the *Scholia*, on *Prometheus Vinctus*, 120: *πῦρ καλεῖται ἡ γνῶσις, διὸ τὸ δραστήριον, Προμηθεὺς δὲ καλεῖται ἡ προμήθεια καὶ ἡ προγνωστικὴ καὶ ἡ πρωτόπλαστις, ἣν δέδωκεν ὁ θεὸς τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἔχειν καὶ φυλάττειν καὶ μή τινος φροντίζειν.*

"Gerard de Lairesse," 181-206: *Prometheus Vinctus*, 519-525, 937-1093.

"Gerard de Lairesse," 208-209, under *A. A.* 750, above.

“Apollo and the Fates” is based, according to Browning’s headnote, partly on *Eumenides*, 693–694 and 697–698 (723–724 and 727–728, in the usual numbering), translated thus by Sir F. G. Kenyon:<sup>1</sup>

‘So didst thou [Apollo] also in the house of Pheres, when thou did’st persuade the Fates to make mortals undying. . . . Thou did’st bring to nought the dispensation of old time, deceiving with wine the ancient goddesses.’ See also “Browning and Euripides” and “Browning and Homer.”

Unfinished Draft of a Poem which may be Entitled “Aeschylus’ Soliloquy,” 1–11 and 34–63:<sup>2</sup>

I am an old and solitary man  
And now at set of sun in Sicily  
I sit down in the middle of this plain  
Which drives between the mountains and the sea  
Its blank of nature. If a traveller came  
Seeing my bare bald skull and my still brows  
And massive features coloured to a stone  
The tragic mask of a humanity  
Whose part is played to an end, — he might mistake me  
For some god Terminus set on these flats  
Or broken marble Faunus. . . .

• • • • •  
Ah, ha — these flats are wide!  
The prophecy which said the house would fall  
And thereby crush me, must bring down the sky  
The only roof above me where I sit  
Or ere it prove its oracle to-day.  
Stand fast ye pillars of the constant Heavens  
As Life doth in me — I who did not die  
That day in Athens when the people’s scorn  
Hissed toward the sun as if to darken it  
Because my thoughts burned too much for the eyes  
Over my head, because I spoke my Greek  
Too deep down in my soul to suit their case.  
Who did not die to see the solemn vests  
Of my white chorus round the thymele  
Flutter like doves, and sweep back like a cloud

<sup>1</sup> Centenary Edition of the *Works of Robert Browning*, X, xv.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted from the one-volume edition of Browning’s *Works* published by the Macmillan Company, New York, 1919, pp. 1339–1340. The poem does not appear in the Centenary Edition.

Before the shrill lipped people . . . but stood calm  
 And cold, and felt the theatre wax hot  
 With mouthing whispers . . . the man Aeschylus  
 Is gray I fancy — and his wrinkles ridge  
 The smoothest of his phrases — or the times  
 Have grown too polished for this old rough work —  
 We have no Sphynxes in the Parthenon  
 Nor any flints at Dephos<sup>1</sup> — or forsooth,  
 I think the Sphynxes wrote this Attic Greek —  
 Our Sophocles hath something more than this  
 Cast out on — and their smile — I would not die (?)  
 At this time by the crushing of a house  
 Who lived that Day out . . . I would go to death  
 With voluntary and majestic steps  
 Jove thundering on the right hand. Let it be.

In the *Vita* we read: 'Some say that he went away to Hiero because he was unpopular at Athens, having been beaten by the young Sophocles. . . . But some say that the bringing in of the chorus scattered about at the performance of the *Eumenides* so frightened the public that some were struck dumb, and some miscarried. Coming then to Sicily . . . living three years more, being aged, he met his end thus. An eagle having seized a tortoise, not knowing how to get at his prey, went to drop it on the rocks to break the shell, but it being dropped on the poet, killed him. It had been prophesied, "A blow from heaven will kill you." (Cf. "Browning and Plutarch.")

#### BROWNING AND AESOP

"Old Pictures in Florence," 47: Aesop, "The Sick Lion."

*R. & B.* III, 410-419, applies to Guido and Abate Paolo the analogy of Aesop, "The Town Mouse and the Country Mouse." (Cf. "Browning and Horace.")

*R. & B.* III, 1322; Aesop, "The Mountains in Labor." (Cf. "Browning and Horace.")

*R. & B.* V, 1092-1093: Aesop, "The Oak and the Reed." Cf. *A. A.* 2819-2828.

*R. & B.* V, 1096-1098: Aesop, "The Wolf and the Lamb."

*R. & B.* XI, 443-444: Aesop, "The Wolf in Sheep's Clothing." Cf.

*R. & B.* XI, 820-830; 1176-1191.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. Delphos.

*R. & B.* XI, 820-830, under *R. & B.* XI, 443-444.

*R. & B.* XI, 1176-1191, under *R. & B.* XI, 443-444.

*Fifine at the Fair*, 1280-1281: Aesop, "The Frog and the Ox." Cf.

"Jochanan Hakkadosh," Illustration<sup>1</sup> I, 13-14. The fable is reproduced in Horace, *Satires*, 2, 3, 314-320.

*A. A.* 286: "Shadow of an ass!" Aesop, "The Ass's Shadow." (See also "Browning and Aristophanes" and "Browning and Plutarch," where the story is given in full.)

*A. A.* 479-482: Aesop, "The Cock and the Jewel." The analogy here is by no means convincing, but for the sake of the precious object, the ordure heap, and the misunderstanding it is worth citing, especially in view of the fact that the next few lines of the *Apology* are also apparently reminiscent of Aesop.

*A. A.* 483-486: Aesop, "The Eagle and the Beetle." The "beetle . . . with trundled dung-ball meant to menace heaven"<sup>2</sup> reminds one of the climax of the Aesopic fable: 'Upon this the Eagle, being at a loss what to do, flew up to Jupiter, his Lord and King, and placed the third brood of eggs, as a sacred deposit, in his lap, begging him to guard them for him. But the beetle, having made a little ball of dirt, flew up with it and dropped it in Jupiter's lap; who, rising up on a sudden to shake it off, and forgetting the eggs, threw them down, and they were again broken.' (See also "Browning and Aristophanes.")

*A. A.* 2737-2738: Aesop, "The Lion and the Mouse."

*A. A.* 2819-2828: Aesop, "The Oak and the Reed." (Cf. *R. & B.* V, 1092-1093.)

*A. A.* 5462-5464: Aesop, "The Frogs Asking for a King." See also "Browning and Plutarch."

"Pietro of Abano," 204: Aesop, "The Fox and the Grapes."

"Jochanan Hakkadosh," Illustration I, 13-14: Aesop, "The Frog and the Ox." Cf. *Fifine at the Fair*, 1280-1281. See also "Browning and Horace."

<sup>1</sup> The "Illustrations" are appended to the poem.

<sup>2</sup> The use of the beetle as a metaphor for the critic may have been suggested to Browning by some lines which Alfred Dommett sent to him in 1841. In these lines, which concern "a certain critique on *Pippa Passes*," the critic is compared to a "black squat beetle," "a free, pert, self-complacent scarabaeus." (See Griffin and Minchin, *Life of Robert Browning*, p. 86, where the lines are quoted in full.)

BROWNING AND ALCIPHRON<sup>1</sup>

*Pippa Passes*, Part I, 411, "with Alciphron's 'hair like sea-moss'":  
Alciphron, *Letters*, 3, 1, *βοστρύχους ἔχει βρῶν τύλοτέρους*.

*B. A.* 4-5, "Petalé, | Phullis, Charopé, Chrusion!" These are the Petalé of Alciphron, 1, 35 and 1, 36; the Phullis of 3, 16 and 3, 45; the Charopé of 3, 1; and the Chrusion of 1, 39. Cf. *B. A.* 715, "Charopé."

*B. A.* 27-41: Alciphron, 3, 51, 'O Minerva, guardian and defender of the city, may it be my lot to live and die at Athens! It is better to be stretched lifeless in front of the Diomeian or Knights' gates, to be trampled under the feet of the passers-by, with the bare earth around me for a grave, than to put up with the pleasures of Peloponnesus.' And Alciphron, 2, 3, 'I would not exchange for . . . all the envied valuables of his courts, our yearly Choës, the Lenaea in the theatre, a banquet such as we had yesterday, the exercises in the Lyceum and the Sacred Academy — no, I swear it by Bacchus and his ivy-wreaths, with which I would rather be crowned, in the presence of my Glycera seated in the theatre, than with all the diadems of Ptolemy. For where in Egypt shall I see a democracy enjoying liberty? the legislators in the sacred villages crowned with ivy? the roped inclosure? the election of magistrates? the feast of Pots? the Ceramicus? the market-place? the law-courts? the dread goddesses? the mysteries? the Stenia? neighbouring Salamis, Psyttalia, Marathon, all Greece in Athens, all Ionia, all the Cyclades?' In these lines in *B. A.* appears Browning's most important single debt to Alciphron by way of direct adaptation.

*B. A.* 50, "Point Malea of bad fame": Alciphron, 1, 10, 'Hence we hear that some are carried along by the current to the promontory of Malea, and others to the Sicilian strait' . . . . The course of the voyage in *B. A.* corresponds to the course mentioned here, and both Alciphron and Browning are dealing with a stormy course. Cf. "Browning and Lucian."

*B. A.* 64-66: Alciphron, 1, 8, in which the writer does not wish to

<sup>1</sup> Quotations of text and translation, and reference numbers, in this section are from the edition of Alciphron privately printed at Athens for the Athenian Society, in 1896.

join a crew of Corycian pirates because he has not the heart to become a murderer and stain his hands with gore.

*A. A. 1*, "Euthukles": Alciphron, 1, 38, a letter of which Euthycles is the recipient. Browning may also have encountered the name of the obscure comic poet in Meineke's *Fragmenta Comicorum Graecorum*. He used this letter of Alciphron's again, however, in connection with *A. A. 2085-2087*.

*A. A. 249-250*: Alciphron, 2, 3. Browning used this letter in *B. A. 32-41*. The crown of ivy appears in it. But "my crown declares my right" (*A. A. 1528*) seems reminiscent of the crown of Alcibiades in Plato's *Symposium*. Cf. *A. A. 689*.

*A. A. 449-450*: Alciphron, 3, 61, 'that people, who imprisoned Miltiades, in whose honor the trophy at Marathon was set up, and ostracised Aristides the Just.' Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes" and "Browning and Plutarch."

*A. A. 593*: Alciphron, 1, 6, in which are mentioned orgies in a house in the Piraeus. Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes."

*A. A. 689*, "Bacchos' equipment, ivy," under *A. A. 249-250*, above.

*A. A. 731*, "Mendesian": Alciphron, 3, 5, contains a mention of this sort of wine.

*A. A. 748-755*: Alciphron, 1, 1, 'the blackening sea'; 1, 10, 'The surface of the ocean, as you see, is already rough; a thick mist has overspread the heavens; the sky is everywhere covered with clouds'; 1, 17, 'the sea in some parts growing black and rough'; and 3, 1, 'and he laughs more pleasantly than the sea in a calm; his eyes are azure, like the ocean, when the first beams of the rising sun glitter upon it.' On *A. A. 750*, see "Browning and Aeschylus."

*A. A. 847-849*: Alciphron, 3, 55, 'a staff of holm-oak, which, in place of thick knots, was studded with brass nails.' Cf. *A. A. 1858-1859*.

*A. A. 1053-1054*, "huge Taügetan (you guess — | Spartē)": Alciphron, 2, 1, 'Above all, the hateful Lacedaemonians . . . will not cease to abuse our banquet on the mountains of Taügetus and in their solitary fastnesses.' . . . Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes," "Browning and Pausanias," and "Browning and Philostratus."

*A. A. 1163*, "Murrhiné, Akalanthis": the names appear, respectively, in Alciphron, 1, 37 and 39; and 3, 64. Though Murrhiné is of

course the character of that name in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, it is interesting to find that in the *Apology* she is paired with Acalanthis, who also appears in Alciphron, and that in Alciphron, 1, 39, her name appears beside that of Chrusion, who is mentioned in *B. A.* 5. Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes."

*A. A. 1167-1168:* Alciphron, 3, 39, in which the sacrifice to Calligeneia is mentioned as the ceremony of the third day of the Thesmophoria.

*A. A. 1858-1859*, under *A. A. 847-849*, above.

*A. A. 2029-2033:* Alciphron, 3, 53, mentions the 'chattering philosophers' infesting the Stoa; 3, 40, describes 'one of those lunatics, who are nicknamed "Dogs" from their mad behaviour . . . a fearful and disgusting sight: he shakes his unkempt hair, he looks wild, goes about half-naked in a threadbare cloak, with a little wallet slung over his shoulders, . . . unshod and filthy' . . . ; and 1, 34, is a letter from Thais to Euthydemus, resenting his abandoning her to follow the instruction of a 'scowling sophist,' whose nonsense is simply calculated as a trap 'to fleece young men.' She asserts that the hetairae educate young men better than the sophists do, 'Only, because we are ignorant of the origin of the clouds and the theory of atoms, you consider us to be inferior to the sophists.' She urges Euthydemus to abandon the folly and shake off his disagreeable looks. 'Let us,' she concludes, 'drink moderately, and prove to each other that pleasure is the aim of life. Then you will confess how learned I am! Besides, the Deity only allows us a short time to live; do not waste it foolishly in trying to solve riddles. Farewell.' Browning makes Aristophanes attack the sophists in terms very similar to these in Alciphron. (Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes" and "Browning and Lucian." Cf. *A. A. 2085-2087*.)

*A. A. 2072-2076:* Alciphron, 3, 38, *τετυφωμένου σοφιστοῦ*; and 3, 40, 'I blame Draco and Solon; for, while they thought fit to punish with death those who stole grapes, they allowed those who made slaves of young men's understandings to go scot-free.' Alciphron apparently provides the general suggestion for the passage, but on various details see "Browning and Plutarch" and "Browning and Aristophanes."

*A. A. 2085-2087*: Alciphron, 3, 23, 'drops of Attic honey, such as is found in the caverns of Brilessus'; 1, 29, 'even the gloomiest of men would not be proof against the charms of Bacchis'; and 1, 38, 'how sweet and pure was the nectar that distilled from her (Bacchis') kisses! It seems to me, Persuasion sat upon her lips.' . . . The whole of Alciphron, 1, 38, is a lament for the death of Bacchis. Bacchis is the writer of letters 1, 30; 1, 31; 1, 32, and the recipient of 1, 39. (On line 2087, see under *A. A. 2029-2033*, above. Cf. *A. A. 3429*, "Bacchis." Cf. "Browning and Athenaeus," on *A. A. 2086*.)

*A. A. 2092-2106*: Alciphron, 3, 4, 'For, as he has been brought up under the care of a stern and morose tutor, his ideas are not those of a young man, but he is as austere in his manners as Laches or Apolexias,' . . .; 3, 14, 'My son, if you want to imitate your father and follow his advice, do not listen to these charlatans whom you see wandering, barefooted and with pale faces, in the neighbourhood of the Academy. They can neither do nor teach anything useful on this earth; they only pore over heavenly things, which they profess to understand'; 1, 34 (quoted above, under *A. A. 2029-2033*).

*A. A. 2734-2743*: Alciphron, 2, 4, Glycera to Menander, 'But how rash and venturesome am I to take upon myself to judge the compositions of Menander — I, a woman who knows nothing about such matters! But I have a clever master in your affection, which has taught me to understand even them; you have shown me that any woman, who possesses natural ability, quickly learns from those she loves, and that love acts without delay. I should be ashamed, by Diana, if I were to show myself unworthy of such a master by being slow to learn.' The problem, of criticizing a comic writer's work to his face, and the authority, that of womanly love, are remarkably alike in the cases of Balaustion and Glycera.

*A. A. 3429*, "Bacchis," under *A. A. 2085-2087*, above.

#### BROWNING AND AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS

*Sordello*, I, 590-603: Ammianus, *Roman History*, 23, 6, 24, 'This (Babylon), however, as we have already related, was stormed by the generals of Verus Caesar, who carried the image of the Cumæan

Apollo to Rome, and placed it in the temple of the Palatine Apollo, where it was formally dedicated to that god by his priests. But it is said that after this statue was carried off, and the city was burnt, the soldiers, searching the temple, found a narrow hole, and when this was opened in the hope of finding something of value in it, from some deep gulf which the secret science of the Chaldaeans had closed up, issued a pestilence, loaded with the force of incurable disease, which in the time of Verus and Marcus Antoninus polluted the whole world from the borders of Persia to the Rhine and Gaul with contagion and death.'

#### BROWNING AND ANACREON

"Bishop Blougram's Apology," 915, "Anacreon's Greek."

*R. & B.* IX, 226-228: Anacreon, 2. (Hiller-Crusius, *Anacreontea*, 24), 'Nature has given horns to bulls, hoofs to horses, swiftness to hares, the power of swimming to fishes, of flying to birds, understanding to men. She had nothing more for women. What then does she give? Beauty, which can resist shields and spears. She who is beautiful is stronger than iron and fire.' Cf. *R. & B.* IX, 425-435.

*R. & B.* IX, 425-435, under *R. & B.* IX, 226-228, above.

#### BROWNING AND THE *Anthologia Graeca*

"Epilogue" to *The Two Poets of Croisic: Anthologia Graeca*, VI, 54 and IX, 584.<sup>1</sup>

#### BROWNING AND ARISTOPHANES

Outside of *Aristophanes' Apology*, fewer than a dozen lines in Browning's poetry appear to be based on Aristophanes. Since any effective study of the manner in which Browning packed the *Apology*

<sup>1</sup> The tale in VI, 54, runs as follows: 'To Lycorean Apollo doth Locrian Eunomus dedicate the brazen cicada, in memory of his contest for the crown. The contest was in lyre-playing, and opposite him stood his competitor, Parthis. But when the Locrian shell rang to the stroke of the plectrum, the string cracked with a hoarse cry. But before the running melody could go lame, a cicada lighted on the lyre chirping tenderly and caught up the vanishing note of the chord, adapting to the fashion of our playing its wild music that used to echo in the woods. Therefore, divine Son of Leto, doth he honour thee with the gift of thy cicada, perching the brazen songster upon thy lyre.' (W. R. Paton's translation.)

with Aristophanic material entails reference to the entire works of Aristophanes, it is thought that in the present classification of Browning's sources no more than references to the plays need be given. Matter from the *Vitae* of Aristophanes,<sup>1</sup> the *Scholia*,<sup>1</sup> the ancient *Prolegomena de Comoedia*,<sup>1</sup> and the *Argumenta* is also included under this head. The usual abbreviations of the names of the plays of Aristophanes are employed. The analogies between passages in *Aristophanes' Apology* and the Aristophanic materials are printed in sequence, in a solid block.

"Cleon," 15, "crocus vest": *Thes.* 253. (Cf. *A. A.* 1205.)

*R. & B.* II, 442, may have been suggested by the *Plutus*.

*R. & B.* XI, 2410-2411: *Eq.* 83-84 and *Schol. ad loc.* (Cf. *A. A.* 2074. Cf. "Browning and Plutarch.")

*B. A.* 33, "Choës and Chutroi": *Ach.* 1076.

*B. A.* 183, "Euoi": *Lys.* 1294.

*B. A.* 184, "Oöp": *Av.* 1395 and *Ran.* 180.

*B. A.* 187, "Babai": *Av.* 272, etc. (Cf. "Browning and Euripides.")

*Fifine at the Fair*, 1461; "Iostephanos": *Ach.* 637; *Eq.* 1323, 1329. (Cf. *A. A.* 937, 5148.)

*A. A.*, the motto: Aristophanes, *Fragmenta*, 693. *A. A.* 76, "engineering," may come from *Pax*, 307. *A. A.* 89, is reminiscent of the *Vespae*.

*A. A.* 90,<sup>2</sup> "sham-prophecy-retailer": *Pax* 1047, 1094.

*A. A.* 90-91, "scout o' the customs": *Ran.* 363. *A. A.* 92, "altar-scrap-snatcher": *Eq.* 1358. *A. A.* 101, "kordax-step": *Nub.* 540, 555. *A. A.* 106, "Olympian": *Ach.* 530. (Cf. *A. A.* 2014-2015. See also "Browning and Lucian" and "Browning and Plutarch.")

*A. A.* 115; *Ach.* 531. (Cf. "Browning and Plutarch.") *A. A.* 118-119 may be parallel to the Ecclesia filled with white, *Eccl.* 386-387.

*A. A.* 129: *Scholl. Nub.* 859 and *Pax* 605. (Cf. "Browning and Plutarch.") *A. A.* 130-132: *Ran.* 934 and *Schol. ibid.* 934. (Cf. *A. A.* 1674-1677.) *A. A.* 176-180: *Schol. Vesp.* 1490. (Cf. "Browning and Herodotus.") *A. A.* 199-202: *Ran.* 241-249. *A. A.* 204: *Ach.* 920. *A. A.* 206, "taught," represents the peculiar use of the verb διδάσκω, found in *Ran.* 1026. *A. A.* 227-229: *Ach.* 51-52 and

<sup>1</sup> In Dübner's edition of the *Scholia Graeca in Aristophanem*.

<sup>2</sup> And perhaps *A. A.* 90-91 refers to the characters in the *Aves*, Τερψ, Σρησμόλογος, Έπισκοπος, and Συνοφάντης.

182-185. *A. A.* 248, ““Speak good words””: *Nub.* 298; *Eq.* 1316. *A. A.* 262-263: *Av.* 292. *A. A.* 285-286, “a bookish store Would stock ten cities”: *Ran.* 943 and 1409. (Cf. *A. A.* 1734. See also “Browning and Athenaeus.”) *A. A.* 286, “Shadow of an ass!”: *Vesp.* 191, and *Schol. ibid.* 191. (Cf. “Browning and Aesop” and “Browning and Plutarch.”) *A. A.* 287-292: *Schol. Ran.* 53. Browning evidently misinterpreted the scholium, which simply expresses the surprise of the scholiast that Dionysus had not chosen instead of the *Andromeda*, which antedated the *Frogs* by eight years, one of these three plays taken by Browning as forming a trilogy. (Cf. *A. A.* 1330-1331 and 1574. Cf. “Browning and Euripides.”) *A. A.* 311-315: *Schol. Ran.* 67. “Alkaion,” in line 312, is a misprint for “Alkmaion.” *A. A.* 319, “young Euripides”: *Schol. Ran.* 67,  $\tauὸν νῖὸν \dots \deltaμῶνυμον$ . *A. A.* 324, “their favourite”: *Ar. Vita XI*, 46-41. (Cf. *A. A.* 905; 939-940; 5148.) *A. A.* 325: *Ach.* 635. (Cf. *Eq.* 78, 261, 1263.) *A. A.* 329-330 may have been suggested by *Ach.* 880-887. Copaic eels are mentioned in *Pax* 1005. *A. A.* 333-335: *Ran.* 690-705 and *Scholl. Ran.* 191 and 698. (Cf. “Browning and Xenophon.”) *A. A.* 337, “Lais”: *Plut.* 179. (But see “Browning and Athenaeus,” and cf. *A. A.* 1505 and 5325, where the name is clearly drawn from Athenaeus.) *A. A.* 338: *Nub.* 23 and 109 and *Schol. Nub.* 109. *A. A.* 340-341: *Ach.* 1229. *A. A.* 349-350: *Thes.* *A. A.* 386 is somewhat like *Vesp.* 53. *A. A.* 401: *Eq.* Cleon is a stock figure in some of the comedies of Aristophanes. (Cf. *A. A.* 1200; 1861; 1870; 1900; 2303; 3086; 3102; 3141-3142; 3240; 3302; 3350; 3466.) *A. A.* 411-413: *Schol. Eccl.* 22. This scholium is, however, among those which Browning probably saw also in Meineke’s *Historia Critica Comicorum Graecorum*. *A. A.* 416-443: *Lys.* *A. A.* 417: *Plut.* 656 and *Schol. ad loc.* A better analogy is perhaps in Euripides, *Iph. Taur.* 1193. *A. A.* 431: *Thes.* 1125. *A. A.* 432-434: *Ran.* 1043; 1052 *sqq.* (Cf. *Thes.* 547.) *A. A.* 434: *Thes.* 384-394. (For another detail from the same passage in the *Thesmophoriazusae*, see *A. A.* 1737 and 2535.) *A. A.* 437-439: *Lys. ad fin.* and *Διαλλαγὴ*, *Lys.* 1114. *A. A.* 438: *Eq.* 765 and *Thes.* 805. *A. A.* 448: *Nub.* 959. *A. A.* 449-451: *Eq.* 1325, 1331; *Nub.* 984; *Schol. Nub.* 984. (Cf. *A. A.* 880; 1040; 1047; “Pheidippides,” 9. Cf. “Browning and Alciphron,” “Browning

and Plutarch," and "Browning and Thucydides.") *A. A.* 455-456: the first *Thesmophoriasusae* and the second (of which fragments are preserved). *A. A.* 464-471: the second *Thesmophoriazusae*. *A. A.* 485-486: *Pax* (the opening). There may be an allusion here to the dung-beetle of Trygaeus, but see "Browning and Aesop." *A. A.* 560, "torch-light": *Eccl.* 1149-1152. (Cf. *A. A.* 658.) *A. A.* 564, "Phales": *Ach.* 263; 271; 276. *A. A.* 564, "Iacchos": *Ran.* 316-317. *A. A.* 574-580: *Thes.* 1201 *sqq.* (Cf. *A. A.* 673-674; 5423-5425; 5646.) *A. A.* 588-589: *Thes.* 1172; 1175. (Cf. *A. A.* 593, 704, 1186, "Elaphion.") *A. A.* 593, "Peiraios-known": *Pax*, 165. (Cf. "Browning and Athenaeus.") *A. A.* 597-598: *Ach.* 1085-1087. (Cf. *A. A.* 683; 731-732; 1178; 1348.) Sometimes Browning refers to the supper as given by the High Priest; sometimes, by the Archon. *A. A.* 601: *Eq.* 550; *Nub.* 540; *Pax*, 767, 771-774. (Cf. *A. A.* 705 "baldhead bard"; "brow bald"; 1109, "Bald-head"; 1161, "Bald Bard's"; 3419, "bald.") *A. A.* 639-650: *Nub.* 63-65. *A. A.* 642, "the Isle's unguent": *Schol. Lys.* 944. *A. A.* 655 "phorminx": *Av.* 219; *Thes.* 327. *A. A.* 658, under *A. A.* 560. *A. A.* 662, "cheekband": *Vesp.* 582. (Cf. *Av.* 861.) *A. A.* 663: *Frag.* 607. *A. A.* 665, "Threttanelo": *Plut.* 290, 296. (Cf. *A. A.* 1892.) *A. A.* 666, "Neblaretai": *Frag.* 241. (Cf. *A. A.* 2708.) *A. A.* 667: *Ach.* 254; *Eq.* 631; *Vesp.* 455. *A. A.* 670-671: *Vesp.* 1341. *A. A.* 673-674, under *A. A.* 574-580. *A. A.* 675-677: *Eccl.* 1158-1162. *A. A.* 681, "goat's breakfast": *Plut.* 295, 313-314; *Schol. Plut.* 295. *A. A.* 682, "circumcised": *Av.* 507 and *Schol. ad loc.* (Cf. "Browning and Herodotus." Cf. *A. A.* 1152.) *A. A.* 682, "pigs to sow": *Plut.* 307-308. *A. A.* 683, "the Priest's," under *A. A.* 597-598. *A. A.* 683, "to the crows": *Ach.* 864, and often elsewhere in Aristophanes. (Cf. *A. A.* 1776-1777; 3066.) *A. A.* 688-690: *Plut.* 21. *A. A.* 692-694: *Ach.* 1150; *Scholl. Ach.* 1150; *Ach.* 886; *Ran.* 367; 404. (Cf. *A. A.* 993-996; 1898-1899. *A. A.* 695, "birds' wings": *Av.* (Cf. *A. A.* 1029; 1319; 1387; 1641; 1938.) *A. A.* 695, "beetle's armour": *Pax*. The allusion is to the beetle of Trygaeus. (Cf. *A. A.* 1387, "Trugaios.") *A. A.* 696-697; *Ach.* 91; 197; 965; 967. (Cf. *A. A.* 2947.) On "three-crest skull-caps" see *Av.* 94 or *Ach. passim*, e.g. 1109. "Three days' salt-fish-slice" appears also

in *Pax*, 312. *A. A.* 699, “‘No Choros’”: *Prolegomena de Comoedia*, I, 28–32; 58–61; 77. (Cf. *A. A.* 703; 709.) *A. A.* 701, “flay your dead dog”: *Lys.* 158. *A. A.* 702–703: *Nub.* 537; and possibly *Pax* 765–766. *A. A.* 703, “lose the song and dance,” under *A. A.* 699. *A. A.* 704, “Elaphion,” under *A. A.* 588–589. *A. A.* 705–707: *Vita Ar.* XI, 1–3, or XV, 1–3; and on “baldhead bard” see *A. A.* 601. *A. A.* 709, under *A. A.* 699, above. *A. A.* 711: *Ach.* 627; *Lys.* 614–615; *Proleg. de Comoed.* I, 58–61. *A. A.* 713–714: *Pax*, 961–962; *Vesp.* 58–59; *Plut.* 798; *Eccl.* 45, 606. (Cf. *A. A.* 1166; 3328–3332; 3349.) *A. A.* 715, “Salabaccho”: *Eq.* 765; *Thes.* 805. *A. A.* 719–729: *Arg.* V, *Nub.* (Cf. *A. A.* 3351–3354; 3380.) See also *Pax*, 700 *sqq.*; *Scholl. Pax* 702, *Eq.* 531. *A. A.* 731–732, under *A. A.* 597–598. *A. A.* 742–746: *Eq.* 85, 106, and elsewhere; *Schol. Eq.* 85. (Cf. *A. A.* 780; 1350–1351; 1353; 1393; 1473; 1543. Cf. “Browning and Aelian” and “Browning and Athenaeus.”) *A. A.* 780, “Good Genius,” under *A. A.* 742–746. *A. A.* 846: *Schol. Vesp.* 58. (Cf. *A. A.* 1939.) *A. A.* 854–855: *Thes.*, produced in 407 B.C., according to Browning’s assumption at this point in the *Apology*. (Cf. *A. A.* 877–878.) *A. A.* 877–878, under *A. A.* 854–855. *A. A.* 880, “Grasshoppers”: *Eq.* 1331; *Nub.* 984. There is no known play of that name by Aristophanes. (Cf. *A. A.* 449–451; 1040.) *A. A.* 881: *Ach.* 202, 250. *A. A.* 905, under *A. A.* 324. *A. A.* 937, “Iostephanos”: *Ach.* 637; *Eq.* 1323, 1329. (Cf. *A. A.* 5148; and “Fifine at the Fair,” 1461.) *A. A.* 939–940, under *A. A.* 324. *A. A.* 941–943: *Schol. Ran.* 1532. (Cf. *A. A.* 5303–5306; 5451–5452.) *A. A.* 943–944: *Ach.* 1124–1125; *Vesp.* 19 *sqq.* (Cf. *A. A.* 3186–3192.) *A. A.* 946–947: *Ach.* 1166 *sqq.*; *Av.* 712; *Av.* 1490–1494. *A. A.* 948–949: *Pax*, 804–811; 1009–1014; *Av.* 151. *A. A.* 957–958, “two plays a season,” may have been suggested by the statement in the Argument to the *Vespae* that the *Proagon* of Philonides (in whose name Aristophanes brought out that play) was first, and the *Vespae* second, when the *Vespae* was produced. (For another mention of the *Vespae*, see *A. A.* 1319.) *A. A.* 960, “brow-bald,” under *A. A.* 601. *A. A.* 963, “‘Wine-lees-poet’”: *Ach.* 499, etc.; *Proleg. de Comoed.* III, 7–11; IV, 23–25. (Cf. *A. A.* 1752.) *A. A.* 963, “bravest of buffoons”: *Vita Ar.* XI, 20–22; *Schol. Eq.* 230. *A. A.* 965–967, “quite a match In elegance for Eupolis him-

self, Yet pungent as Kratinos": *Proleg. de Comoed.* II, 20-23. (Cf. *A. A.* 3370-3372.) *A. A.* 968-982: *Proleg. de Comoed.* I; IXa; IXb. (Cf. *A. A.* 1783-1844; 2908-2936; 3210-3215; cf. "Browning and Horace.") *A. A.* 993-996, under *A. A.* 692-694. *A. A.* 1005-1006: *Proleg. de Comoed.* IX, 75 *sqq.* (Cf. "Browning and Euripides.") (Cf. *A. A.* 2391-2406.) *A. A.* 1010, "Sokrates, meteors, moonshine: *Nub.* 171. (Cf. *A. A.* 1065; 1873-1874; 2046.) *A. A.* 1010, "Socrates": *Nub.* 104 *sqq.*, etc. (Cf. *A. A.* 1208; 1871-1874; 2184; 2247; 2473; 2494; 3102; 3145; 3255; 3262-3263; 3270; 3300; 3379.) *A. A.* 1010, "Life's not Life": *Ran.* 1082; 1477. (Cf. *A. A.* 1282-1284, 1953. Cf. "Browning and Euripides.") *A. A.* 1011: *Ran.* 102; 1471; *Thes.* 275-276. (Cf. "Browning and Euripides.") (Cf. *A. A.* 2548-2549.) *A. A.* 1013-1014: *Ach.* 399-400; *Schol. Ach.* 398. (Cf. *A. A.* 2151-2152; 2181.) *A. A.* 1019, "Comic lash": *Proleg. de Comoed.* V, 22. *A. A.* 1022: *Ran.* 621. *A. A.* 1023, "glanced gloom": *Ran.* 593. *A. A.* 1029, under *A. A.* 695. *A. A.* 1032-1038: *Nub.* 523-525; *Vesp.* 1043-1059. (Cf. *A. A.* 1130-1132.) (On "gapers," *A. A.* 1032, see *A. A.* 325.) *A. A.* 1040, under *A. A.* 449-451. *A. A.* 1042-1043: *Triphales* (a lost play by Aristophanes). (Cf. *A. A.* 5437.) *A. A.* 1047, under *A. A.* 449-451. *A. A.* 1048: *Av.* 39-40; *Nub.* 1360. *A. A.* 1053-1054, "Taügetan (you guess—Sparté)": *Lys.* 117; 1296-1297. (Cf. "Browning and Alciphron," "Browning and Pausanias," and "Browning and Philostratus.") *A. A.* 1065, under *A. A.* 1010. *A. A.* 1066-1068: *Ran.* 1073-1074. *A. A.* 1072-1074: *Nub.* 973-976. *A. A.* 1075: *Nub.* 983. *A. A.* 1076-1084: *Nub.* 967-968; 1354-1372; *Scholl. Nub.* 1371, *Ran.* 849, 1080; *Ran.* 1314; *Nub.* 969-970; 985-986. (Cf. *A. A.* 1643-1644; 1562-1565; 3066.) *A. A.* 1088-1089: *Pax*, 1138-1139; *Thes.* 279-280. (Cf. *A. A.* 1094.) *A. A.* 1091: *Ach.* 1006; *Pax*, 1196. (Cf. *A. A.* 3115.) *A. A.* 1094, under *A. A.* 1088-1089. *A. A.* 1095-1096: *Ach.* 245-246; *Av.* 78; *Ran.* 62, 63, etc. *A. A.* 1099-1104: *Pax*, the general spirit of the parabasis, 729 *sqq.* *A. A.* 1109, "Baldhead," under *A. A.* 601. *A. A.* 1114-1115: *Ran.* 764; *Eq.* 535, 574; *Pax*, 1084. (Cf. "Browning and Lucian" and "Browning and Plato.") *A. A.* 1120-1121: *Eq.* 1281 *sqq.* (Cf. *A. A.* 1942; 3090; 3148; 3427.) Ariphrades is referred to also in

*Vesp.* 1280; *Pax*, 883; *Eccl.* 129; *fr.* 63a. *A. A.* 1125: *Ach.* 350-351. *A. A.* 1129, "Housebreakers": *Ran.* 773; 808. (Cf. *A. A.* 3227.) *A. A.* 1130-1132, under *A. A.* 1032-1038. *A. A.* 1133-1135: *Pax*, 790; 864. *A. A.* 1144-1168: *Second Thesmophoriazusae* (of which fragments remain). *A. A.* 1150, "Aristullos": *fr.* 538; *Eccl.* 647; *Plut.* 309 *sqq.*, 314; and Meineke's identification of Aristyllus with Plato, in his *Historia Critica Comicorum Graecorum*, pp. 287 *sqq.* (Cf. *A. A.* 1208-1210; 2248-2249; 2474; 2495-2497; 2700; 3146; 3310-3312; 3316. On 1150-1151, see also "Browning and Plato.") *A. A.* 1151, "womankind should rule the roast": *Thes.* Browning regards the *Thesmophoriazusae* as a satire on the treatment of women in Plato's *Republic*. *A. A.* 1152, under *A. A.* 682. *A. A.* 1156-1158: *Thes.* 1001-1209. (Cf. *A. A.* 1165, "Toxotes.") *A. A.* 1161, "Bald Bard's," under *A. A.* 601. *A. A.* 1163, "Murrhiné, Akalanthis": *Lys.* 70, 850, 851, 874; *Av.* 873-874. (Cf. "Browning and Alciphron.") *A. A.* 1163-1164, "'beautiful Their whole belongings'": *Pax*, 524-526. (Cf. "beautiful belongings," in *A. A.* 3116.) *A. A.* 1165, "Toxotes," under *A. A.* 1156-1158. *A. A.* 1166, under *A. A.* 713-714. *A. A.* 1172-1174: *fr.* 334 (of the Second *Thes.*) *A. A.* 1175-1178: *Eccl.* 1168-1183. (Cf. *A. A.* 1190-1195.) *A. A.* 1178, "Priest's supper," under *A. A.* 597-598. *A. A.* 1185-1187: *Ach.* 91-92, 589, 1182. (On *A. A.* 1186, "Elaphion," see *A. A.* 588-589.) *A. A.* 1190-1195, under *A. A.* 1175-1178. And see *Av.* 535 and *Plut.* 720. (Cf. "Browning and Athenaeus.") *A. A.* 1197, "Salt without thyme": *Ach.* 772, 1099. *A. A.* 1200, "Kleonclapper erst": i.e., in *Eq.* (Cf. *A. A.* 401, for other references to Cleon.) *A. A.* 1205: *Thes.* 192 and 253. (Cf. "Cleon," 15, "crocus vest.") *A. A.* 1208-1210, under *A. A.* 1150. See also "Browning and Plato." "Babaiax" appears in *Ach.* 64 and elsewhere. *A. A.* 1244-1249: *Pax*, 697 *sqq.* and *Schol. Pax*, 697. *A. A.* 1250: *Vita Ar.* XI, 11-12; *Schol. Vesp.* 1018. (Cf. *A. A.* 3381; 3385-3386.) *A. A.* 1256-1259; *Ran.* 73-79 and *Schol. Ran.* 78. *A. A.* 1282-1284, under *A. A.* 1010, "'Life's not Life'." (Cf. "Browning and Euripides.") *A. A.* 1294-1297: *Proleg. de Comoed.* V, 27-30, and the *First Plutus*, of which fragments remain. (Cf. *A. A.* 1308-1314.) *A. A.* 1308-1314, under *A. A.* 1294-1297. *A. A.* 1319: *Vesp.*, *Eq.*, *Nub.*, *Av.*, are mentioned

by name. (Another allusion to the *Vesp.* appears in *A. A.* 958; to the *Nub.* in *A. A.* 1639; and to the *Av.* in *A. A.* 695, 1641.) *A. A.* 1330-1331, under *A. A.* 287-292. *A. A.* 1348, under *A. A.* 597-598. *A. A.* 1350-1351, under *A. A.* 742-746. *A. A.* 1353, "Good Genius," under *A. A.* 742-746. *A. A.* 1380-1381: *Ach.* (Cf. *A. A.* 1860; 1868-1869; 3084; 3101; 3138-3139.) *A. A.* 1382-1384: *Vesp.*, in general, and in connection with *A. A.* 1384, *Vesp.* 605 *sqq.*, 690, 791. (Cf. *A. A.* 2995; 3198-3200.) *A. A.* 1385-1386: *Eq.* (Cf. *A. A.* 2432-2433; 2442; 2996-2997.) *A. A.* 1387, "Trugaios," under *A. A.* 695. *A. A.* 1387, "Pisthetairos," of *Av.*, under *A. A.* 695. *A. A.* 1387, "Strepsiades": *Nub.* (Cf. *A. A.* 1938; 2998.) *A. A.* 1393, "Good Genius," under *A. A.* 742-746. *A. A.* 1461, "alale": *Lys.* 1291. *A. A.* 1473, "Good Genius," under *A. A.* 742-746. *A. A.* 1482: *Lys.* 1094. (Cf. "Browning and Plutarch" and "Browning and Thucydides.") *A. A.* 1525-1528: *Ran.* 393-395. *A. A.* 1543, under *A. A.* 742-746. *A. A.* 1555: *Thes.* 190. (Cf. "Browning and Euripides.") *A. A.* 1562-1565, under *A. A.* 1076-1084. *A. A.* 1566: *Ran.* 929. *A. A.* 1574, "Antiope," under *A. A.* 287-292. *A. A.* 1609-1611: *Pax*, 648-657; *Schol. Pax*, 648. (Solon's "saw" is explained by the reference under "Browning and Plutarch," but the matter of respecting the dead in Comedy was probably suggested by Aristophanes. Cf. *A. A.* 1634, 5283.) *A. A.* 1634, under *A. A.* 1609-1611. *A. A.* 1639, "Clouds," under *A. A.* 1319. *A. A.* 1640: *Eq.* 419. *A. A.* 1641, "Birds," under *A. A.* 695. *A. A.* 1643-1644, under *A. A.* 1076-1084. *A. A.* 1645: *Ach.* 1150; 1164-1173; *Schol. Ach.* 1150. (Cf. *A. A.* 1656-1657; 1661-1665.) *A. A.* 1656-1657, under *A. A.* 1645. *A. A.* 1661-1665, under *A. A.* 1645. *A. A.* 1668-1670: *Eq.* 295. *A. A.* 1730: *Ach.* 1168-1172. *A. A.* 1734, under *A. A.* 285. *A. A.* 1735-1736: *Ran.* 937-944. *A. A.* 1737: *Thes.* 387. (Cf. *A. A.* 2535.) *A. A.* 1739: *Ran.* 944; 1408; 1452-1453; *fr.* 580. (Cf. *A. A.* 2184; 2536-2538.) *A. A.* 1743: *Vesp.* 838. *A. A.* 1752: *Proleg. de Comeod.* IV, 10-14; see also the references under *A. A.* 963. *A. A.* 1775-1779: *Proleg. de Comeod.* IXb, 1-15; Xb, 65-74. (Cf. *A. A.* 683; 1886.) *A. A.* 1783-1844, under *A. A.* 968-984. *A. A.* 1789-1790: *Thes.* 450-451; *Nub.* 247-248; 367; 818-827. (Cf. *A. A.* 2049-2052; 2140; 2147; 2178; 2479-2480; 5710.) (Cf. "Browning and

Euripides.") *A. A.* 1860, under *A. A.* 1380-1381. *A. A.* 1861: *Eq.* 277; 324-325. (Cf. under *A. A.* 401; and cf. "Browning and Thucydides.") *A. A.* 1868-1869, under *A. A.* 1380-1381. *A. A.* 1870: *Vesp.* 34-40; *Schol. Vesp.* 34. (Cf. *A. A.* 401.) *A. A.* 1871-1874: *Nub.* (in general), and especially lines 94 *sqq.*; 112-115; 225; 380-381; 828; 889 *sqq.* and *Schol. Nub.* 96. (Cf. *A. A.* 2494; 2946; 3262-3265; 3267; 3379; and see under *A. A.* 1010.) *A. A.* 1884, "Glauketes": *Pax*, 1006-1009; *Thes.* 1033. *A. A.* 1885, "Chairephon": *Nub.* 104, 146, 156, 503, 831, 1465; *Vesp.* 1408, 1412; *Av.* 1296, 1564; *fr.* 539, 573. *A. A.* 1886, under *A. A.* 1775-1779. *A. A.* 1892, under *A. A.* 665. *A. A.* 1898-1899, under *A. A.* 692-694. *A. A.* 1900-1907: *Vita Ar.* XI, 15-42; XII, 13-19; XIV, 1-2; *Ach.* 376-382, 502-503, 659-664; *Vesp.* 1284-1286; *Scholl. Ach.* 378, 654, *Nub.* 272, *Vesp.* 1291. (Cf. *A. A.* 3236-3237; 3240-3244; 3302-3307.) *A. A.* 1928-1929: *Fragmenta*, I, 155; *Ran.* 959, 971-991. (Cf. *A. A.* 1937, "Thearion.") *A. A.* 1931-1933 is reminiscent of the character of Pheidippides in the *Clouds*, and of *Nub.* 122, 1298; *Eq.* 603. *A. A.* 1934: *Av.* 1293 and *Schol. ad loc.* *A. A.* 1935, "Kepphé": *Plut.* 912 and *Schol. ad loc.* *A. A.* 1936: *Av.* 300; *Schol. ibid.* 299. *A. A.* 1937, "Thearion," under *A. A.* 1928-1929. *A. A.* 1938, "Pisthetairos," under *A. A.* 695. *A. A.* 1938, "Strepsiades," under *A. A.* 1387. *A. A.* 1939: *Vesp.* 57. See also under *A. A.* 846. *A. A.* 1942, under *A. A.* 1120-1121. *A. A.* 1947, "Rocky Ones": *Av.* 123; *Ach.* 75. *A. A.* 1953, under *A. A.* 1010. *A. A.* 1956-1962: *Pax*, 577-578, 1127-1158; *Ach.* 961, 1008, 1112; *fr.* 317 (cf. "Browning and Athenaeus" on *A. A.* 1959); *Ach.* 272-275; *Pax*, 1184. (Cf. *A. A.* 3110-3115.) *A. A.* 2014-2016, under *A. A.* 106. *A. A.* 2029-2031: *Nub.* 102-104; 835-837. (Cf. "Browning and Alciphron" and "Browning and Lucian.") *A. A.* 2035-2038: *Nub.* 360-361; *Av.* 692. (Cf. "Browning and Diogenes Laertius.") *A. A.* 2045: *Nub.* 1073; *Pax*, 343. *A. A.* 2046, under *A. A.* 1010. *A. A.* 2047, "keep Choes": *Ach.* 961, 1076, 1211. (Cf. *A. A.* 2069.) *A. A.* 2049-2052, under *A. A.* 1789-1790. *A. A.* 2053-2055: *Av.* 558-559. (Cf. "Browning and Lucian.") *A. A.* 2059-2060: *Nub.* 373. *A. A.* 2061-2062: *Nub.* 399-400. *A. A.* 2062-2066: *Ran.* 100, 311; *Thes.* 272; *Nub.* 264. (Cf. "Browning and Cicero," "Browning and Diogenes Laertius,"

“Browning and Euripides,” and “Browning and Lucian.”) *A. A.* 2067–2068: *Nub.* 376 *sqq.* (Cf. *A. A.* 2147. Cf. “Browning and Plato.”) *A. A.* 2069, under *A. A.* 2047. *A. A.* 2070–2071; *Nub.* 156–168. *A. A.* 2072–2073: *Nub.* 831–833. (Cf. “Browning and Alciphron.”) *A. A.* 2074, “pour bull’s blood” under *R. & B.* XI, 2410–2411. *A. A.* 2082, “be—as we wish”: *Ach.* 446. *A. A.* 2084: *Pax*, 869. *A. A.* 2092–2098: *Nub.* 1111–1112. *A. A.* 2100–2101: *Schol. Eq.* 781. *A. A.* 2105, “the Empousa”: *Ran.* 293; *Eccl.* 1056–1057. (Cf. “Browning and Philostratus.”) *A. A.* 2113, “Kimberic robe”: *Lys.* 45 and 52. *A. A.* 2114–2128 (cf. *A. A.* 2130–2132; 2176–2179; 2191–2192; 2194–2197): *Ach.* 411 *sqq.*; *Ran.* 937 *sqq.*; 1042; 1058–1064. (Cf. “Browning and Aristotle.”) *A. A.* 2130–2132, under *A. A.* 2114–2128. *A. A.* 2140, under *A. A.* 1789–1790. *A. A.* 2147, under *A. A.* 1789–1790; and *A. A.* 2067–2068. *A. A.* 2152, under *A. A.* 1013–1014. *A. A.* 2176–2179, under *A. A.* 2114–2128. *A. A.* 2178–2179, under *A. A.* 1789–1790 and *A. A.* 2117–2118. *A. A.* 2181, under *A. A.* 1013–1014. *A. A.* 2184, “friend Socrates,” under *A. A.* 1010; “wife’s friend Kephisophon,” under *A. A.* 1739. *A. A.* 2191–2192, under *A. A.* 2114–2128. *A. A.* 2194–2197, under *A. A.* 2114–2128. *A. A.* 2198: *Thes.* 850, where the phrase ‘new Helen’ refers to the novel version of the story of Helen in the *Helena* of Euripides. *A. A.* 2215–2216: *Ran.* 828–829. *A. A.* 2227–2229 may be associated with *Ran.* 971–979, and with the debate between the Just Cause and the Unjust Cause in *Nub.* 889–1104, which appears to parody the numerous debates in the plays of Euripides. *A. A.* 2232–2236: *Ran.* 1009–1017; 1064–1066. *A. A.* 2238–2241: *Nub.* 116–118; 244–246; 433–434; 1213 *sqq.* (Cf. “Browning and Lucian.”) *A. A.* 2245, “Iophons”: *Ran.* 73. (Cf. *A. A.* 2250, 2253. Cf. “Browning and Euripides.”) *A. A.* 2247, under *A. A.* 1010. *A. A.* 2248–2249, under *A. A.* 1150. *A. A.* 2250, “Iophons,” under *A. A.* 2245. *A. A.* 2253, “Iophons,” under *A. A.* 2245. 2277–2280: *Eq.* 515–517. (Cf. *A. A.* 2407–2408.) *A. A.* 2292–2293: *Ach.* 180–181. *A. A.* 2294–2297: *Pax*, 255 *sqq.* and ‘make mincemeat,’ in *Vesp.* 63. *A. A.* 2303: *Vesp.* 38. (Cf. *A. A.* 3086. For other allusions to Cleon in *A. A.*, see under *A. A.* 401.) *A. A.* 2304: *Nub.* 1065. (Cf. *A. A.* 3086, “Hyperbolos.”) *A. A.* 2305, “hempseller Eukrates”: *Eq.* 129; *fr.* 696;

*Schol. Eq.* 129. (Cf. *A. A.* 3382.) *A. A.* 2305-2306, "Lusikles Sheep-dealer": *Eq.* 132; 765; and *Schol. Eq.* 765. (Cf. *A. A.* 3382.) *A. A.* 2306: *Eccl.* 248-253; *Schol. ibid.* 253. *A. A.* 2307-2308, "Diitripes who weaves the willow-work To go round bottles": *Av.* 798. *A. A.* 2308-2309, "Nausikudes The meal-man": *Eccl.* 426 and *Schol. ad loc.* (Despite the uncertainty of the scholium, it appears certain from Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, 2, 7, 6, that Nausicydes was in fact a "meal-man.") *A. A.* 2321-2327: *Av.* (a general summary of the plot), especially *Av.* 82, 94, 821, and the final scene. *A. A.* 2360-2361: *Ach.* 264-265. *A. A.* 2407-2408, under *A. A.* 2277-2280. *A. A.* 2425-2433: *Eq.* 1321-1363. *A. A.* 2434-2447: *Ran.* 718-737; *Ach.* 633, 644-645; *Vesp.* 1017, 1043; *Eq.* (the character of the Sausage-Seller); *Ran.* 1422-1425, 1431-1433. (With *A. A.* 2442, cf. *A. A.* 1385-1386.) *A. A.* 2448, "chau-noprockt": *Ach.* 104, 106. *A. A.* 2473, under *A. A.* 1010. *A. A.* 2474, under *A. A.* 1150. *A. A.* 2479-2480, under *A. A.* 1789-1790. *A. A.* 2494, under *A. A.* 1010, and *A. A.* 1871-1874. *A. A.* 2495-2497, under *A. A.* 1150. *A. A.* 2535, under *A. A.* 1737. *A. A.* 2536-2538, under *A. A.* 1739. *A. A.* 2548-2549, under *A. A.* 1011. *A. A.* 2574: *Ran.* 756. *A. A.* 2575-2679 includes a general summary of the *Ranae*, with a series of details from the *Plutus*, mentioned in the entries that follow. (Cf. *A. A.* 5277-5288; 5382-5452.) *A. A.* 2607-2611: *Plut.* 1156. (Cf. "Browning and Philostratus.") *A. A.* 2613: *Plut.* 1168-1170. *A. A.* 2624-2627: *Plut.* 653 *sqq.*; 681; 701-702; 733. *A. A.* 2635: *Ran.* 82; 787-794. *A. A.* 2636: *Pax*, 699. *A. A.* 2642: *Ran.* 78-79. *A. A.* 2662-2668: *Ran.* 605 *sqq.* *A. A.* 2683-2685: *Proleg. de Comoed.* IV, 27-28; IXa, 59-65; IXb, 1-14. *A. A.* 2692-2693: *Av.* 1372-1373; *Ran.* 1437-1438; *Schol. Ran.* 1437. *A. A.* 2700, under *A. A.* 1150. *A. A.* 2705-2706: *Proleg. de Comoed.* XI, 12-14; XII, 10-13; XIII, 9-10. *A. A.* 2707: *Ach.* 598; *Av.* 505; *Schol. Av.* 507. *A. A.* 2708: *Vesp.* 280; *Schol. Vesp.* 279. *A. A.* 2708, "Neblaretai," under *A. A.* 666. *A. A.* 2776, "folly wise-like frowns," may be associated with *Nub.* 561-562. *A. A.* 2838: the *Lemnians* and *The Hours* are plays by Aristophanes, of which fragments remain. *A. A.* 2839-2844: *Eccl.* (a translation of the name, and a general criticism of the play). *A. A.* 2908-2935, under *A. A.* 968-982. *A. A.* 2912: *Plut.*

582-584. *A. A. 2936*: *Banqueters* is a play by Aristophanes, of which fragments remain. (Cf. *A. A. 2941*.) *A. A. 2941*: the *Banqueters* and the *Babylonians* are plays by Aristophanes, of which fragments remain. (Cf. *A. A. 2936*.) *A. A. 2944*, "assistance," may be a translation of ὀφελεῖς, *Proleg. de Comœd. IXa*, 23. *A. A. 2946*, under *A. A. 1871-1874*. *A. A. 2947* refers to the satire on the Ambassadors in the *Acharnians*. *A. A. 2963-2978*: *Pax*, 748-751; *Nub.* 537 *sqq.*; *Vita Ar.* XI, 3 *sqq.*; *Ran.* 104, κόβαλα. *A. A. 2995*, under *A. A. 1382-1384*. *A. A. 2996-2997*, under *A. A. 1385-1386*. *A. A. 2998*, under *A. A. 1387*. *A. A. 2999* may be taken as referring particularly to *Ach.*, *Thes.*, and *Ran.* *A. A. 3066*, "join the crows," under *A. A. 683*. *A. A. 3066*, "for sake of Marathon," under *A. A. 1076-1084*. *A. A. 3067-3070*: *Pax*, 447-453. *A. A. 3076*, "skia-decion": *Av.* 1508-1509. *A. A. 3084*: *Ach.* 572 *sqq.*, 965, 1107. (Cf. *A. A. 1380-1381*.) *A. A. 3086*, under *A. A. 2303* and *2304*. See also *Eq. 290*. (Cf. *A. A. 401*.) *A. A. 3087*, "Nicias," seems to have been suggested not by the mentions of Nicias in *Eq. 358*, *Av. 363*, and *fr. 100*, so much as by Plutarch's account of Nicias. (See "Browning and Plutarch.") (Cf. *A. A. 3140*.) *A. A. 3089*: *Ran.* 355, 369. *A. A. 3090*, under *A. A. 1120-1121*. *A. A. 3101*, under *A. A. 1380-1381*. *A. A. 3102*, "Kleon," under *A. A. 401*. *A. A. 3102-3103*, "burns Socrates, House over head": *Nub.* 1484 *sqq.* (Cf. *A. A. 3255*; 3296-3298.) *A. A. 3110-3115*, under *A. A. 1956-1962*; 1091. *A. A. 3116-3117*: *Pax*, 523-526, etc. (Cf. *A. A. 1163-1164*.) (Cf. *A. A. 3428*; 3456-3460; 5310-5311.) *A. A. 3133*: *Ach.* 321 *sqq.* *A. A. 3138-3139*: *Ran.* 1039. (Cf. *A. A. 1380-1381*.) *A. A. 3140*, under *A. A. 3087*. *A. A. 3141-3142*: *Eq. 314-321*. (Cf. *A. A. 401*, 2303.) *A. A. 3145*, under *A. A. 1010*. *A. A. 3146*, under *A. A. 1150*. (Cf. "Browning and Plato.") *A. A. 3148-3150*: *Eccl.* 129 and *Schol. ad loc.* (Cf. *A. A. 1120-1121*.) *A. A. 3162-3163*: *Ach.* 1003-1017; 1073-1142; *Pax* (the general subject). *A. A. 3164-3170*: *Ach.* 1075-1234. (Cf. *A. A. 3182*.) *A. A. 3177-3178*: *Ach.* 751, 1091; *Pax*, 1131. *A. A. 3182*, under *A. A. 3164-3170*. See particularly *Ach.* 1075, 1101, 1141. *A. A. 3186-3192*, under *A. A. 943-944*. *A. A. 3198-3200*, under *A. A. 1382-1384*. *A. A. 3203-3208*: *Vesp.* (some scenes); especially, *Vesp.* 798 *sqq.*; 1167; 1388 *sqq.*; 1342 *sqq.* *A. A. 3210-3215*,

under *A. A.* 968-982. *A. A.* 3227, "housebreaker," under *A. A.* 1129. *A. A.* 3228, "fish-gorging": *Pax*, 810. *A. A.* 3228, "midnight footpad": *Ran.* 773, and elsewhere. *A. A.* 3232, "Kratinos": *Ach.* 849, 1173; *Eq.* 400, 526; *Ran.* 357. (Cf. *A. A.* 3337-3342.) *A. A.* 3236-3237, under *A. A.* 1900-1907. *A. A.* 3240-3244, under *A. A.* 1900-1907. *A. A.* 3253-3254: *Ach.* 526-527. (Cf. "Browning and Plutarch.") *A. A.* 3255, under *A. A.* 3102-3103. *A. A.* 3260-3270: *Vesp.* 29-30; and the references under *A. A.* 1871-1874. On *A. A.* 3265, see particularly *Schol. Nub.* 96, *ad fin.*; and on *A. A.* 3267, see *Nub.* 380. (Cf. *A. A.* 1010.) *A. A.* 3296-3298, under *A. A.* 3102-3103. The "Speculation-shop" of *A. A.* 3298 is the *φροντιστήριον* of *Nub.* 1487. *A. A.* 3300, under *A. A.* 1010. *A. A.* 3302-3307, under *A. A.* 1900-1907. *A. A.* 3307-3309: *Pax*, 757-758; *Ach.* 381. *A. A.* 3310-3312, under *A. A.* 1150. *A. A.* 3312-3317: *Vita Ar.* XI, 59-63. *A. A.* 3316, under *A. A.* 1150. *A. A.* 3322-3328: *Nub.* 537-539; 560. *A. A.* 3328-3332, under *A. A.* 713-714. See also *Nub.* 543, for the "torch-flare," and cf. *A. A.* 3349. *A. A.* 3337-3344: *Eq.* 526-536; *Ach.* 632. (Cf. *A. A.* 3232; 5502-5504.) *A. A.* 3349, under *A. A.* 3328-3332 and *A. A.* 713-714. *A. A.* 3350: *Nub.* 591-594.<sup>1</sup> *A. A.* 3351-3354, under *A. A.* 719-729. *A. A.* 3370-3372, under *A. A.* 965-967. *A. A.* 3374: *Eq.* 520-523. *A. A.* 3376-3377: *Schol. Nub.* 96, *ad fin.* (Cf. *A. A.* 3265.) *A. A.* 3379: *Nub.* 171-174, and the general effect of the whole play. (Cf. *A. A.* 1010; 1871-1874.) *A. A.* 3380, under *A. A.* 719-729. *A. A.* 3381, "well-masked," under *A. A.* 1250. *A. A.* 3382, under *A. A.* 2305; 2305-2306. *A. A.* 3385-3386, under *A. A.* 1250. *A. A.* 3400-3401: *Eq.* 537-539. *A. A.* 3400-

<sup>1</sup> From the reference to the death of Cleon, it would seem that Balaustion is not in this line referring to the *Equites*, which contains the harangue reproduced in *A. A.* 3337-3344, but rather to the *Nubes*, which "followed" the *Equites*. Browning apparently does not permit Balaustion to consider the lines about Cleon in the *Nubes* as indicating that he was alive when the play was presented, or else he is having her assume that the *Equites* came after the death of Cleon. Cleon died late in the summer of 422 B.C. The *Equites* was produced in January, 424 B.C.; the first version of the *Nubes* in 423, when it was defeated by the play of Cratinus mentioned in *A. A.* 3351-3354. The mention of the *Maricas* of Eupolis, which was exhibited in 421 B.C., in *Nub.* 553, not far from the lines attacking Cleon, indicates that the whole passage may have been written after the death of Cleon. In any event, there is here some chronological difficulty in the *Apology*.

3402 may all, however, be based on *Proleg. de Comoed.* III, 38-41 (quoted in Meineke's *Hist. Crit. Comicorum Graecorum*, p. 60). *A. A.* 3409: *Arg. Ach.* *A. A.* 3418: *Pax.* *A. A.* 3419, under *A. A.* 601. *A. A.* 3427, under *A. A.* 1120-1121. *A. A.* 3428, under *A. A.* 3117. *A. A.* 3443-3445: *Proleg. de Comoed.* IXa, 61-65. *A. A.* 3456-3460, under *A. A.* 3116-3117. *A. A.* 3466, "Kleon's crowd," under *A. A.* 401. *A. A.* 3476-3477: *Av.* (the character Triballus). Cf. *Av.* 1529. (Cf. "Browning and Athenaeus.") *A. A.* 5148, "Iostephanos," under *A. A.* 937; "best friend" may be associated with the sources given under *A. A.* 324. *A. A.* 5276: the *Proagon* of Aristophanes, of which fragments remain. That this play contained an attack on Euripides is witnessed by *Schol. Vesp.* 61. *A. A.* 5277-5288, under *A. A.* 2575-2679. *A. A.* 5283, "Death defends," under *A. A.* 1609-1611. *A. A.* 5303-5306, under *A. A.* 941-943. *A. A.* 5310-5311, under *A. A.* 3116-3117. *A. A.* 5336: *Ran.* 1475, which quotes from the *Aeolus* of Euripides (Frag. 19, Nauck), according to the *Schol. Ran.* 1475. Browning has used the line in place of the misquotation of it in the anecdote of Lais and Euripides in Athenaeus (see "Browning and Athenaeus"). *A. A.* 5382-5452, under *A. A.* 2575-2679. *A. A.* 5382-5383: *Ran.* and *Arg. Ran.* I. (Cf. *A. A.* 5455.) *A. A.* 5386-5388: *Ecdl.* 1118-1120. *A. A.* 5411-5412, "He's all one stiff and gluey piece Of back of swine's neck!": *fr.* 646, *κόλλων*. *A. A.* 5412, "Chatterbox": *Ran.* 1069. *A. A.* 5413: *fr.* 638; *Ran.* 1515-1523. *A. A.* 5414-5415: *Ran.* 1520-1521. *A. A.* 5423-5425, under *A. A.* 574-580. *A. A.* 5430-5431: *Ran.* 1200 *sqq.* *A. A.* 5433-5434: *Ran.* 1402-1403. *A. A.* 5435-5437: *Ran.* 1422 *sqq.* *A. A.* 5437, "Triphales," under *A. A.* 1042-1043. *A. A.* 5439, "Pheidippides": *Nub.* (the character Pheidippides). *A. A.* 5442-5446: *Ran.* 1491-1495. *A. A.* 5447-5448: *Ran.* 1531-1532. *A. A.* 5451-5452, under *A. A.* 941-943. *A. A.* 5455, under 5382-5383. *A. A.* 5458-5460: *Arg. Ran.* I, 'The play was so admired for its parabasis that it was produced a second time.' *A. A.* 5478-5479: *Av.* 1282-1283. *A. A.* 5493, "Bakis-prophecy": *Eq.* 120 *sqq.*, and elsewhere in Aristophanes. (Cf. "Browning and Lucian" and "Browning and Plutarch.") *A. A.* 5502-5504: *Ach.* 630, 632. (Cf. *A. A.* 3344.) *A. A.* 5646, "Phaps-Elaphion," under *A. A.* 574-580. *A. A.* 5710, under *A. A.* 1789-1790.

“The Inn Album,” 442–443, “hatch A wind-egg”: *Av.* 694–697.  
 “Of Pachiarotto and how he worked in Distemper,” 580: *Nub.* 78–80.  
 “Epilogue” to *Pachiarotto and how he worked in Distemper*, the motto:  
*Plut.* 806–807.  
 “Pheidippides,” 9, under *A. A.* 449–451.  
 “Daniel Bartoli,” 273–274, “*Trogalia*, say the Greeks,” etc.: *Pax*,  
 772; *Plut.* 798.

#### BROWNING AND ARISTOTLE

*Paracelsus*, IV, 546, “This verse-making can purge you well enough,” may be reminiscent of the *Poetics*, 6, 2, ‘through pity and fear effecting the proper purgation of these emotions.’<sup>1</sup> (Cf. *R. & B.* X, 1233.)  
 “Old Pictures in Florence,” 89–96: *Poetics*, 2, 1, ‘Since the objects of imitation are men in action, and these men must be either of a higher or a lower type, . . . it follows that we must represent men either as better than in real life, or as worse, or as they are.’  
*R. & B.* VIII, 488–489: *De Generatione Animalium*, 3, 10.  
*R. & B.* IX, 131, “Moving the pity and terror”: *Poetics*, 6, 2, ‘Tragedy . . . through pity and fear effecting the proper purgation of these emotions’; and 13, 2, ‘It (a perfect tragedy) should, moreover, imitate actions which excite pity and fear, this being the distinctive mark of tragic imitation.’ (Cf. *A. A.* 163–176; 2192–2193.)  
*R. & B.* X, 1233, “purging,” under *Paracelsus*, IV, 546, above.  
*A. A.* 163–176, under *R. & B.* IX, 131, above.  
*A. A.* 763–766: *Poetics*, 25, 3, ή μὲν γὰρ καθ' αὐτήν, η δὲ κατὰ συμβεβηκός; and 25, 5, τῶν κατὰ τὴν τέχνην η κατ' ἄλλο συμβεβηκός.  
*A. A.* 963, “Bravest of buffoons”: *Ethics*, 4, 8, 1–6, *Of graceful or polished wit, and its contrary*, ‘But since there are periods of relaxation in life, and in them sportive pastime is admissible, in this case also there seems to be a certain method of intercourse consistent with propriety and good taste, and also of saying proper things in a proper manner; . . . Those, therefore, who exceed in the ridiculous appear to be buffoons and vulgar, always longing for something ridiculous, and aiming more at exciting laughter than speaking decently, and causing no pain to the object of their sarcasm . . .

<sup>1</sup> Butcher's translation.

those who are sportive with good taste are called men of graceful wit. . . . But since what is ridiculous is on the surface, and the generality of mankind are pleased with sport, and even with over-much jesting, even buffoons are called men of graceful wit, as though they were refined; . . . the difference between old and recent comedies; in the old ones obscenity constituted the ridiculous; in the modern ones innuendo; and there is considerable difference between these in point of decency. . . . But the buffoon cannot resist what is ridiculous, and spares neither himself nor anybody else, if he can but raise a laugh; and this he will do by saying such things as the gentleman would not think of saying, or sometimes even of listening to.' (Cf. *A. A.* 2963-2965; 3093-3100; 3245-3250; 3304.)

*A. A.* 1353-1428: *Poetics*, 2, 1 and 4, 'Since the objects of imitation are men in action, and these men must be either of a higher or a lower type (for moral character mainly answers to these divisions, goodness and badness being the distinguishing marks of moral differences), it follows that we must represent men either as better than in real life, or as worse, or as they are. It is the same in painting. Polygnotus depicted men as nobler than they are, Pauson as less noble, Dionysius drew them true to life. . . . The same distinction marks off Tragedy from Comedy; for Comedy aims at representing men as worse, Tragedy as better, than in actual life.' *Poetics*, 5, 1, 'Comedy is, as we have said, an imitation of characters of a lower type,— not, however, in the full sense of the word bad, the Ludicrous being merely a subdivision of the Ugly. It consists in some defect or ugliness which is not painful or destructive. To take an obvious example, the comic mask is ugly and distorted, but does not imply pain.' *Poetics*, 15, 8, 'Again, since Tragedy is an imitation of persons who are above the common level, the example of good portrait-painters should be followed. They, while reproducing the distinctive form of the original, make a likeness which is true to life and yet more beautiful.' (On *A. A.* 1353-1391, see also "Browning and Plato"; and on various details in the entire passage, see "Browning and Aristophanes" and "Browning and Euripides.")

*A. A. 2114-2132: Poetics*, 25, 1, 'The poet being an imitator, like a painter or any other artist, must of necessity imitate one of three objects, — things as they were or are, things as they are said or thought to be, or things as they ought to be. The vehicle of expression is language, — either current terms or, it may be, rare words or metaphors.' *Poetics*, 25, 6, 'Further, if it be objected that the description is not true to fact, the poet may perhaps reply, — "But the objects are as they ought to be": just as Sophocles said that he drew men as they ought to be; Euripides, as they are.' *Poetics*, 25, 19, 'The element of the irrational, and, similarly, depravity of character, are justly censured when there is no inner necessity for introducing them. Such is the irrational element in the *Aegeus* of Euripides, and the badness of Menelaus in the *Orestes*.' (Cf. *A. A. 2166-2179*; 5565-5568; and see "Browning and Aristophanes.")

*A. A. 2166-2179*, under *A. A. 2114-2132*.

*A. A. 2192-2193*, under *R. & B. IX*, 131.

*A. A. 2906-2907: Ethics*, 4, 8, 4, . . . 'the difference between old and recent comedies; in the old ones obscenity constituted the ridiculous; in the modern ones innuendo; and there is considerable difference between them in point of decency.' (Cf. *A. A. 3417-3418*.) Though the analogy here may be wholly accidental, the passage from the *Ethics* is included in the longer bit which Browning apparently had in mind in connection with the group of passages from the *Apology* adduced under *A. A. 963*.

*A. A. 2916: Poetics*, 5, 2, 'The successive changes through which Tragedy passed, and the authors of these changes, are well known, whereas Comedy has had no history, because it was not at first treated seriously. It was late before the Archon granted a comic chorus to a poet; the performers were till then voluntary.'

*A. A. 2963-2965*, under *A. A. 963*.

*A. A. 3093-3100*, under *A. A. 963*.

*A. A. 3245-3250*, under *A. A. 963*.

*A. A. 3304*, under *A. A. 963*.

*A. A. 3417-3418*, under *A. A. 2906-2907*.

*A. A. 5565-5568*, under *A. A. 2114-2132*. This passage, however, seems primarily reflective of the stanza from Elizabeth Barrett

Browning's "Wine of Cyprus" which serves as the motto for *Balaustion's Adventure*.

*A. A. 5632*, "the Kommos": *Poetics*, 12, 2, 'the Commos is a joint lamentation of Chorus and actors.'

"Fifine at the Fair," 935, "gastroknemian grace": *Historia Animalium*, 1, 15, *γαστροκνημια*.

"Halbert and Hob": *Ethics*, 7, 6, 5, 'It is like the case of a man who defended himself for beating his father, because, said he, my father beat his father, and he again beat his; and he, also (pointing to his child) will beat me, when he becomes a man; for it runs in our family. And he that was dragged by his son, bid him stop at the door, for that he himself had dragged his father so far.'

"Development," 97-115 mentions Browning's study of the *Ethics*.

#### BROWNING AND ATHENAEUS

*R. & B. IX*, 168-174: *Deipnosophists*, 13, 59 contains an account of the defense of Phryne by Hyperides, in the course of which occurred the incident referred to by Browning, and contains also a long passage attesting her beauty 'even in those parts of her person which were not generally seen.' (Cf. *R. & B. IX*, 187.)

*R. & B. IX*, 187, under *R. & B. 168-174*.

*B. A. 208-212*: *Deip.* 15, 17 explains the cooling effect on the forehead of a garland of ivy bound tight across the brow, and imputes the fact that the garland of ivy is sacred to Bacchus to the circumstance that it defends men from all the inconveniences which arise from the use of wine; and *ibid.* 15, 25 mentions garlands made of the blossoms of the pomegranate. (In connection with *Deip.* 15, 17, see *A. A. 600-605*.)

"Prince Hohenstiel-Schwangau, Saviour of Society," 19-21: *Deip.* 13, 26, "young or old."

*A. A. 203*, "Pricked by the reed": *Deip.* 13, 31 speaks of a temple to Venus at Athens, 'which some call Venus among the Reeds, and others Venus in the Marsh.' It is barely possible that from this Browning took the suggestion for the reeds in the Ilyssus near the Limnae, the scene which Balaustion is describing.

*A. A. 263-281*: *Deip.* 13, 81, 'And when all clapped their hands, laughing and shouting out, to see how well he (Sophocles) had

taken the boy in, he said, 'I, my friends, am meditating on the art of generalship, since Pericles has said that I know how to compose poetry, but not how to be a general; now has not this stratagem of mine succeeded perfectly? And he both said and did many things of this kind in a witty manner, drinking and giving himself up to mirth; but as to political affairs he was not able nor energetic in them, but behaved as any other virtuous Athenian might have done.' (Cf. "Browning and Sophocles.")

A. A. 285-286, "a bookish store Would stock ten cities": *Deip.* 1, 4, mentions the library of Euripides as among the most remarkable in ancient times. (Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes.")

A. A. 329-332: *Deip.* 7, 50 extols the Copaic eel; *ibid.* 7, 44 mentions a thousand Attic drachmae as the price for 'the very smallest and cheapest galeus' (a kind of shark); *ibid.* 14, 81 explains that congers should be cooked in 'salt, and marjoram, and water,' (the same passage appears in *ibid.* 7, 45); and *ibid.* 7, 22 explains that the foamfish should be parboiled with nettles and then fried with the nettles and fragrant herbs well steeped in oil.

A. A. 336-337: *Deip.* 13, 86 has an account of Thessalian dancing women, which may have suggested the "Thessalian mime." Lais is mentioned in *ibid.* 13, 45; 13, 54; etc. (Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes.") In *ibid.* 13, 55, Lais is said to have died in Thessaly.

A. A. 365-368: *Deip.* 13, 5. Browning has put into the mouth of "Comic Platon" the exact turn of ideas in the passage from Hieronymus quoted by Athenaeus.

A. A. 383-386: *Deip.* 7, 123, 'And when the cuttle-fish is pursued,' etc.; *ibid.* 7, 15, 'The fish that lives in seaweed, the alphester, The scorpion also with its rosy meat.' (Cf. *ibid.* 7, 110 and 7, 115 for the same passage as that quoted from 7, 15, though in Yonge's translation the three passages are differently rendered.<sup>1</sup>)

<sup>1</sup> The original line from Numenius's work on *Fishing*, quoted in all three passages in Athenaeus, appears to mean 'The phycides, the alphester, and besides The red-fleshed scorpion,' as it is rendered in Yonge's version of 7, 115. Browning apparently depended on the English version of 7, 15, and mistook 'the fish that lives in seaweed' for an appositional phrase with 'the alphester,' instead of recognizing it as a translation of 'phycides.'

A. A. 488: *Deip.* 1, 35, 'And they (the Athenians) also erected a statue of Euripides in the theatre next to the statue of Aeschylus. (Cf. "Browning and Pausanias.")

A. A. 567: *Deip.* 8, 59, 'And Plutarch said, — There is a Rhodian tale. . . . But I know that Phoenix the Colophonian, the Iambic poet, making mention of some men as collecting money for the Jackdaw, speaks as follows:

My friends, I pray you give a handful now  
Of barley to the jackdaw, Phoebus' daughter;

And those people who went about collecting for the jackdaw (*κορώνη*) were called Coronistae. . . . And the songs which are sung by them are called coronismata, as Agnicles the Rhodian tells us, in his *Coronistae*.

A. A. 593, "Phaps": similar nicknames for hetairae are frequent in Athenaeus, e.g., Klepsydra, in *Deip.* 13, 21; Mania, in *Deip.* 13, 41; Sow, Goat, and Crow, in *Deip.* 13, 45. The name was probably suggested to Browning by the fact that the dove was sacred to Aphrodite, whose "priestesses" in some sense the hetairae were. In the defense of Phryne (*Deip.* 13, 59) Hyperides called her "a prophetess and priestess of Venus." (Cf. A. A. 670, "Phaps"; 648, "Phabion"; and 5423, "Phaps.")

A. A. 646: *Deip.* 3, 7 mentions the Phibalean figs and compares them with myrtle-berries.

A. A. 647: *Deip.* 7, 81 quotes the name from Pherecrates.

A. A. 649: *Deip.* 14, 64.

A. A. 664: Thasian wine is mentioned with Mendesian (i.e. Mendaean) in *Deip.* 8, 53 (as in A. A. 730-731) and in *Deip.* 1, 56; 4, 4; 8, 67. In *Deip.* 1, 52, it is mentioned along with Peparethian (mentioned in A. A. 1959) in a quoted fragment of Aristophanes (*fr. 317*). Since Mendesian is not mentioned in Aristophanes, and Peparethian mentioned nowhere else in Aristophanes than in the fragment quoted by Athenaeus, there is some probability that Athenaeus was the chief source of Browning's information about Greek wines. A. A. 5386-5388, however, is evidently based on Aristophanes *Eccl.* 1118-1120; and Thasian is the wine at the banquet in Xenophon's *Symposium*, 4, 41. (Cf. A. A. 730-731; 1092; 1279; 1429; 2938.)

A. A. 669, "By the cabbage": *Deip.* 9, 9.

A. A. 670, "-Phaps," under A. A. 593.

A. A. 716-719: *Deip.* 1, 39 (repeated in *ibid.* 10, 33) is authority for the statement that Aeschylus was often drunk when he wrote. (Cf. "Browning and Aeschylus.")

A. A. 730-731, under A. A. 664.

A. A. 742-746: *Deip.* 15, 17 not only mentions the invocation of the 'good Deity' at the cup of unmixed wine, paying honor to Bacchus, but adds that 'when the first cup of mixed wine is handed round after dinner, they then invoke Jupiter the Saviour, thinking him the cause of this mixture of wine which is so unattended with pain, as being the author of rain.' This explains the "new libation" of A. A. 746. *Deip.* 15, 47-48 also illustrates the phrase "Good Genius" as a signal for ending a feast. (Cf. A. A. 780; 1350-1351; 1353; 1473; 1543; and see "Browning and Aelian" and "Browning and Aristophanes.")

A. A. 780, under A. A. 742-746.

A. A. 794, "tragic barbiton": *Deip.* 4, 77; 4, 80; 14, 37; 14, 38.<sup>1</sup>

A. A. 1048, "sip the dew": *Deip.* 2, 26 provides the information that grasshoppers are nourished by water alone.

A. A. 1092, under A. A. 664.

A. A. 1125: *Deip.* 7, 123, 'And when the cuttle-fish is pursued, it discharges its ink, and is hidden in it, making it appear as if it were flying forwards.' (Cf. A. A. 383.)

A. A. 1190-1194: *Deip.* 7, 44 praises the galeus, a sort of shark, apparently, and mentions 'sauce and vinegar' as the dressing for it; *ibid.* 7, 45 mentions the head of the glaucus, or grayling, boiled in brine; *ibid.* 7, 46 further praises the grayling's head; and *ibid.* 14, 17 describes the basting of a fish with vinegar and 'Libyan silphium, Dried in the genial rays of midday sun.' Sphettian vinegar is mentioned in *Deip.* 2, 76; silphion, in 4, 69 and 1, 50 (in each of these cases translated 'assafoetida.' (See also "Browning and Aristophanes.")

<sup>1</sup> In Aristophanes's *Thes.* 137, it is mentioned as the instrument upon which Agathon (a tragic poet) is playing; and it appears in Euripides's *Cyclops*, 40, as used in Bacchic songs. But Browning would probably have called it "barbitos" except for the use of the other form of the word in Athenaeus (in the Greek text).

A. A. 1279, under A. A. 664.

A. A. 1350-1351, under A. A. 742-746.

A. A. 1353, under A. A. 742-746.

A. A. 1393, under A. A. 742-746.

A. A. 1429, under A. A. 664.

A. A. 1473, under A. A. 742-746.

A. A. 1495, "cold Euripides": *Deip.* 13, 71. In the account here of the death of Euripides, the English version reads 'the angry god Found a fit death for cold Euripides.' The source for Browning's phrase is very likely this passage in Athenaeus, rather than adjectives in the *Vita Euripidis* which mean 'stiff,' 'thoughtful,' and 'austere.' (Cf. A. A. 1510; 1666-1667.) In A. A. 284, "Cold hater of his kind," however, the adjective is perhaps better associated with those in the *Vita*. The whole matter can hardly be settled.

A. A. 1504-1510: *Deip.* 13, 45. (Browning follows the text of this passage about Lais and Euripides very closely in A. A. 5323-5336. On A. A. 5336, however, see "Browning and Aristophanes.")

A. A. 1510, "cold," under A. A. 1495.

A. A. 1543, under A. A. 742-746.

A. A. 1666-1667, under A. A. 1495.

A. A. 1838: *Deip.* 2, 77, 'besides lard And eggs and honey and flour wrapp'd in fig-leaves, And all compounded in one savoury force-meat.'

A. A. 1843, "ellops-fish": *Deip.* 7, 44; 7, 80.

A. A. 1959, under A. A. 664.

A. A. 2084, "and sesame pricks tongue": *Deip.* 2, 77.

A. A. 2086, "Bacchis": *Deip.* 13, 66. But the source for the line is probably Alciphron. (Cf. "Browning and Alciphron.")

A. A. 2105, "Saperdion": *Deip.* 13, 60, 'But Apollodorus, in his book on Courtesans, says that there were two women named Phryne, one of whom was nicknamed Clausigelos, and the other Saperdium.' (Cf. A. A. 2113; 2144.)

A. A. 2113, under A. A. 2105.

A. A. 2114-2115: *Deip.* 13, 11, 'the dramatic philosopher, Euripides.'

A. A. 2144, under A. A. 2105.

A. A. 2398, under A. A. 664.

A. A. 2637: *Deip.* 12, 2; 13, 61; 13, 81. (Cf. "Browning and Plutarch.")

A. A. 3476-3477: *Deip.* 15, 11, 'These things are shameful, e'en to the Triballi.' (Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes.")

A. A. 3519, "with stulos pendent": *Deip.* 13, 45, 'Holding a tablet and a pen attached to it.' (Cf. A. A. 5327-5328, in a passage the whole of which comes from this chapter in Athenaeus.)

A. A. 5087-5100: *Deip.* 9, 70, 'Lachares made Minerva naked, who caused him no inconvenience.' . . .

A. A. 5323-5336, under A. A. 1504-1510. Browning gives a close translation of the original — so close, at least, that he must have had the original memorized if he wrote the *Apology*, as he stated, with no books at hand.

A. A. 5423, "Phaps-," under A. A. 593.

A. A. 5477, "the half-helot captain": *Deip.* 6, 102 states that Ly-sander, 'who defeated the Athenians in the naval battle,' was one of the Mothaces among the Lacedaemonians, a class of freemen, but still not citizens, though foster-brothers of citizens. (Cf. "Browning and Aelian.")

A. A. 5638-5639, "While we Lakonians . . . crunched Sea-urchin, conchs and all, unpricked — coarse brutes!" *Deip.* 3, 41: 'And Demetrius the Scepsian, in the twenty-sixth book of his Trojan Preparation, says that a Lacedaemonian once being invited to a banquet, when some sea-urchins were put before him on the table, took one, not knowing the proper manner in which it should be eaten, and not attending to those who were in the company to see how they ate it. And so he put it in his mouth with the skin or shell and all, and began to crush the sea-urchin with his teeth; and being exceedingly disgusted with what he was eating, and not perceiving how to get rid of the roughness of the taste, he said, "O what nasty food! I will not now be so effeminate as to eject it, but I will never take you again."

#### BROWNING AND CASSIODORUS

R. & B. I, 231: *Variae Epistolae*, I, 37, "Crispiano Theod. Rex":  
 Quis enim ferat hominem ad leges trahere, qui matrimonii natus est  
 iura violare? Feris insitum est, copulam suam extrema concerta-

tione defendere. Dum omnibus est animantibus inimicum, quod naturali lege damnatur. Videmus tauros, foeminas suas cornuali concertatione defendere: arietes pro suis ovibus capitaliter insaevire: equos adiunctas sibi foeminas colaphis ac morsibus vindicare. Ita pro copulatis sibi animas ponunt, qui verecundia non moventur. Homo autem quemadmodum patiatur adulterium inultum relinquere, quod ad aeternum suum dedecus cognoscitur commississe? (Cf. *R. & B.* VIII, 482-487.)

*R. & B.* VIII, 482-487, under *R. & B.* I, 231.

### BROWNING AND CATULLUS

*R. & B.* V, 1209-1210 mentions Catullus critically.<sup>1</sup>

*R. & B.* VI, 386-388 mentions Catullus critically.

*R. & B.* VIII, 131, "Taedas jugales init, subiit": Catullus, 64, 302, has "taedas voluit celebrare iugalis."

*R. & B.* XII, 277: Catullus, 3, 2.

### BROWNING AND CICERO

"The Bishop Orders his Tomb at Saint Praxed's Church," 77, mentions Cicero (i.e. "Tully"). (Cf. *ibid.* 100.)

"The Bishop Orders his Tomb at Saint Praxed's Church," 100, under *ibid.* 77.

*R. & B.* I, 1157, mentions "Ciceronian" cranks.

*R. & B.* VIII, 101, mentions the *Pro Milone*.

*R. & B.* VIII, 166, mentions Tully.

*R. & B.* IX, 782-783: Cicero, *ad Fam.* 1, 9, 21.

*R. & B.* XII, 327: Cicero, *Rep.* 2, 44, 4.

*A. A.* 2062-2066: Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.* 1, 15, Idemque disputat, aethere esse eum, quem homines Jovem appellarent: quique aër

<sup>1</sup> The epithet *doctus* is applied to Catullus in Tibullus, 3, 7, 9. It is *not* applied to him in Horace, *Satires*, 1, 10, 19, "Nil praeter Calvum et doctus cantare Catullum." Martial, *Epigrams*, 31, 1 (I, lxi) (Paley), "Verona docti syllabas amat vatis," refers to Catullus (cf. *Epigrams*, 586, 5 (X, ciii)). Ovid addresses Catullus in the *Amores*, 3, 9, 62 as "docte Catulle." Browning may have seen in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography* (s. v. "Catullus") the paragraph beginning, "The epithet *doctus* applied to our poet by Tibullus, Ovid, Martial, and others, has given rise to considerable discussion."

per maria manaret, eum esse Neptunum: terram, eam quae Ceres diceretur. Similique ratione persequitur vocabula reliquorum deorum. (The passage refers to Chrysippus.) Cicero quotes (*ibid.* 2, 25 and 3, 16) the fragment of Euripides (i.e. *fr.* 941, Nauck) identifying Zeus with aether. (Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes," "Browning and Diogenes Laertius," "Browning and Euripides," and "Browning and Lucian.")

#### BROWNING AND COLUMTHUS

"Pippa Passes," II, 39-40, refers to a copy of the *De Raptu Helenae* by Coluthus of Lycopolis in Egypt, a manuscript of which was discovered by Cardinal Bessarion in Calabria. (Cf. *R. & B.* VI, 1747.) *R. & B.* VI, 1747, under "Pippa Passes," II, 39-40.

#### BROWNING AND DIOGENES LAERTIUS

*A. A. 219-220:* Anaxagoras, 1, 'Anaxagoras . . . was the first philosopher who attributed mind to matter. . . . On which account he himself got the name of Mind.'

*A. A. 260-263* (the figure is continued to line 296): Diogenes, 6, 'When some people said to him, "You are an old man, and should rest for the remainder of your life"; "Why so?" replied he, "Suppose I had run a long distance, ought I to stop when I was near the end, and not rather press on?"' (Cf. "life's racecourse," in *A. A.* 4259, Browning's version of *Heracles*, 662, *διαίλοντος*.)

*A. A. 2036-2037:* Anaxagoras, 4, 'He (Anaxagoras) asserted that the sun was a mass of burning iron, greater than Peloponnesus.'<sup>1</sup> (Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes.")

*A. A. 2041-2044:* Protagoras, 3, 'He (Protagoras) was the first person who asserted that in every question there were two sides to the argument exactly opposite to one another. And he used to employ them in his arguments, being the first person who did so.' (Cf. "Browning and Lucian" and "Browning and Plato.")

*A. A. 2051-2052:* Protagoras, 3, 'And another of his treatises he begins in this way: "Concerning the Gods, I am not able to know

<sup>1</sup> Browning's lines refer to Prodicus; we have in them perhaps a fanciful reconstruction of ancient science similar in method to the fanciful reconstruction of the *Grasshoppers* as a play by Aristophanes.

for a certainty whether they exist or whether they do not. For there are many things which prevent one from knowing, especially the obscurity of the subject, and the shortness of the life of man." And on account of this beginning of his treatise, he was banished by the Athenians. And they burnt his books in the market place, calling them in by the public crier, and compelling all who possessed them to surrender them.' *Ibid.* 5, 'The first of his works that he ever read in public was the treatise on the Gods, the beginning of which we have quoted above, and he read this at Athens in the house of Euripides.' (Cf. "Browning and Lucian.")

*A. A. 2062-2066:* Empedocles, 12, 'And he (Empedocles) spoke thus on this subject:—"Bright Jove, life-giving Juno, Pluto dark, And Nestis, who fills mortal eyes with tears." Meaning by Jove fire, by Juno the earth, by Pluto the air, and by Nestis water.' (Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes," "Browning and Cicero," "Browning and Euripides," and "Browning and Lucian.")

*A. A. 2141-2143:* Protagoras, 3, 'But he (Protagoras) began something in this manner: "Man is the measure of all things: of those things which exist as he is; and of those things which do not exist as he is not."

*A. A. 2148-2149:* Zeno, 62, 'Again, they (the Stoics) say that that is duty, which is preferred, and which contains in itself reasonable arguments why we should prefer it; as for instance, its corresponding to the nature of life itself; and this argument extends to plants and animals, for even their nature is subject to the obligation of certain duties. . . . Now of the things done according to inclination, some are duties, and some are contrary to duty; and some are neither duties nor contrary to duty. Those are duties, which reason selects to do, as for instance, to honour one's parents, one's brothers, one's country, to gratify one's friends.' . . .

#### BROWNING AND DIOSCURIDES

*B. A. 206-211:* *De Materia Medica*, 1, 111,<sup>1</sup> βαλανστιὸν ἔστιν ἄνθος ἀγριας ρbas. εἶδη δὲ ἔστιν αὐτοῦ πλείονα· εὐρίσκεται γὰρ καὶ λευκὸν καὶ πυρρὸν καὶ ροδόχρονον· ξικε δὲ κυτίνω ρbas. χυλίζεται δὲ ὡς καὶ ἡ

<sup>1</sup> Sprengel's edition.

ὑποκιστίς. δύναμιν δὲ ἔχει στυπτικήν, ποιῶσαν πρὸς ἄ καὶ τὴν ὑποκιστίς καὶ ὁ κύτων. (Cf. *B. A.* 263-264; *A. A.* 639-650; 5608-5609.)

*B. A.* 263-264: see above.

*A. A.* 639-650: see above. The name *Kubelion*, *A. A.* 644, may come from *id. ibid.* 4, 122.

*A. A.* 5608-5609: see above.

#### BROWNING AND EURIPIDES

*Pauline*, 573-576, "the boy," etc.: *Electra*, 215 *sqq.* (The *Chœphorœ* of Aeschylus may be associated with this passage in *Pauline*, but the details suggest rather Euripides.)

*Sordello*, I, 400-405: *Bacchæ*.

*Sordello*, V, 379, "a thyrsus": *Bacchæ*, 25, and elsewhere.

"Waring," 122-125: *Iphigenia at Aulis* (Browning's lines build a picture round the facts recounted in the speech of the Messenger in lines 1540 *sqq.* of the Euripidean play.)

"Waring," 126-133: *Iphigenia in Tauris*.

"Bishop Blougram's Apology," 184: the final lines of the *Andromache*, the *Bacchæ*, the *Medea*, and the *Alcestis* constitute a formula which may be the basis for Browning's line. This formula is translated by A. S. Way as follows:

O the works of the Gods — in manifold forms they reveal them:  
Manifold things un hoped-for the Gods to accomplishment bring.  
And the things that we looked for, the Gods deign not to fulfil them;  
And the paths undiscerned of our eyes, the Gods un seal them.  
So fell this marvellous thing.

*R. & B. IX*, 548-550: *Hecuba*, 239-241. (Cf. "Browning and Homer.")

*R. & B. X*, 1667-1791, is a speech put into the mouth of Euripides *redivivus*, calculated to demonstrate that Christianity of the seventeenth century is no higher in morality or religion than the religion of Euripides. Lines 1703-1705 are based on the ancient *Vitae* of Euripides.

*B. A.* 134-136: *Vita Euripidis* (that by Suidas).

*B. A.* 161-164: *Bacchæ*. (On *B. A.* 163, see "Browning and Herodotus.")

B. A. 187, "Babai!": *Cyclops*, 156. (Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes.")

B. A. 298-299: *Vita Euripidis* (in Eduardus Schwarz's edition of the *Scholia in Euripidem*, I, pp. 4-5), 'They say that having prepared a cave on Salamis with an opening toward the sea, he passed the day there, fleeing the crowd.' (Cf. A. A. 272-273; 284; 356; 910; 916; 927; 936.)

B. A. 358-2396: *Alcestis*.

B. A. 2397-2399; Argument II to the *Alcestis*.

B. A. 2435-2660 is based on the *Alcestis*.

Prince Hohenstiel-Schwangau, Saviour of Society, the motto: *Hercules*, 1275-1280.

*Fifine at the Fair*, 304-325: *Helena*.

A. A. 47-50: *Vitae*<sup>1</sup> I, II, and IV contain the detail. The verses of Philemon are translated in A. A. 5693-5697. (Cf. A. A. 58-60; 5693-5697.)

A. A. 58-60, under A. A. 47-50.

A. A. 104: fragment of the *Pherixus*, 638 (Nauck), 'Who knows but that to live is to die, and to die is to live,' etc. (Cf. A. A. 1282-1284; 1953.)

A. A. 138-140: *Heraclidae*, 593 *sqq.* (A similar sentiment appears in the *Troades*, 637, 'Better death than life in bitterness.')

A. A. 162-163, "why Medeia clove Nature asunder": *Medea*. (Cf. A. A. 1239; 2940.)

A. A. 193-198; *Alcestis*, 1008 *sqq.* (Cf. A. A. 508-510; 2399-2402.)

A. A. 206: the lost play called the *Andromeda*, of which fragments remain.

A. A. 207: the lost *Cresphonites*, of which fragments remain.

A. A. 214: *Bacchae*. (Cf. A. A. 311-312; 5289-5291.)

A. A. 267-270: *Vita* I (Dindorf), 'and he (Euripides) did much with him (Archelaus), when he entered into the affairs of state.' The *Vitae* state that Euripides was a recluse at Athens, avoiding contact with common affairs. (Cf. A. A. 302-307; 2264-2265.)

A. A. 272-273, under B. A. 298-299.

A. A. 283, "cold hater of his kind," under A. A. 1295, below.

A. A. 284, under B. A. 298-299.

<sup>1</sup> In Dindorf's edition of the *Scholia in Euripidem*, I, 1 *sqq.*

A. A. 289-292: the "Match Of Life Contemplative with Active Life, Zethos against Amphion" is the lost *Antiope*. Browning probably drew the information from the introductory quotations preceding the fragments of the *Antiope* in Nauck's *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*. He may have seen there also the scholium on Aristophanes (see "Browning and Aristophanes," under A. A. 287-292) which led him to take the three plays as a trilogy. (Cf. A. A. 1330-1331; 1574.)

A. A. 293-294: *Rhesus*, 123-124; 739-740.

A. A. 302-307 is based on the *Vitae*. See, for example, under A. A. 267-270; 308-310.

A. A. 308-310: *Vita I*, 'Going thence to Macedonia, he spent his time with Archelaus, and in honor of him wrote a play named after him.'

A. A. 311-315: "maddened Pentheus" alludes to the *Bacchae*; the details about Iphigenia remind one of the closing scenes of the *Iphigenia at Aulis* (e.g., 1101-1102; 1277 *sqq.*); the three plays are taken as a trilogy on the basis of the scholium on Aristophanes *Ranæ*, 67, which states that after the death of Euripides, his son, whose name was also Euripides, presented these three plays at the City Dionysia. (Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes.")

A. A. 356, "his cave," under B. A. 298-299.

A. A. 357-358: *Vita V* (Dindorf) mentions the story that women tore Euripides to pieces as he was going at an untimely hour to visit Craterus, *τὸν ἔρωμενον Ἀρχελάου*.

A. A. 359: *Vita I* states that Euripides was a disciple of Anaxagoras, Prodicus, Protagoras, and Socrates. (Cf. A. A. 364.)

A. A. 360-363: *Vita V* states that the rival poets persuaded the keeper of the king's dogs to turn them loose on Euripides.

A. A. 364, under A. A. 359.

A. A. 369-375: *Vita V* provides the detail about the wife of Nicodicus of Arethusa; *Vita I*, that about the dogs.<sup>1</sup>

A. A. 417: *Iphigenia Taurica*, 1193.

A. A. 419-430: *Hippolytus*. (Cf. A. A. 1412.)

<sup>1</sup> "Browning localizes the scene not in the *άλος*, as tradition records (cf. *Vita IV* also), but in the palace-court." (*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XX (1909), 57, n. 2.)

A. A. 489-490: *Vita* I, 'There is a cenotaph to him in Athens, and on it is an epitaph composed by Thucydides the historian.' (Cf. A. A. 493. See "Browning and Pausanias.")

A. A. 493, under A. A. 489-490.

A. A. 508-510, under A. A. 193-198.

A. A. 532-558: *Hercules*.

A. A. 801 may be reminiscent of *Iphigenia Aulidensis*, 1505-1507, 'Hail, Light divine!' etc.

A. A. 910, under B. A. 298-299.

A. A. 916, "cave," under B. A. 298-299.

A. A. 927, under B. A. 298-299.

A. A. 936, "cave," under B. A. 298-299.

A. A. 1001-1003, mentioning the number of satyric plays by Euripides as five, may be simply a confused memory of the fact that the number of satyric plays was eight (see *Vita* III, *ad fin.*) and the number of victories five. Or, on some such basis as that of the statement in the *Prolegomena de Comoedia* (in Dübner's edition of the *Scholia in Aristophanem*) IXa, p. xix, 75-78, where it is denied that the *Alcestis* and the *Orestes* are true satyric dramas, Browning may have taken five as the actual number of true satyric dramas by Euripides. Possibly the *Helena* was the third play which Browning regarded as pseudo-satyric and subtracted from the eight referred to in *Vita* III. A. A. 2391, at any rate, mentions "some five" satyr plays by Euripides before he wrote the *Alcestis*, a substitute for a satyric play (see A. A. 2391-2406).

A. A. 1005-1006: Argument to the *Alcestis* (and probably the passage in the *Prolegomena de Comoedia* referred to under A. A. 1001-1003, above. (Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes" and cf. A. A. 2391-2406.)

A. A. 1010, "'Life's not Life'": fragment of the *Phrixus*, 833 (Nauck).<sup>1</sup> (Cf. A. A. 1282-1284; 1953.) (Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes.")

A. A. 1011: *Hippolytus*, 612. (Cf. A. A. 2549, and "Browning and Aristophanes.")

A. A. 1023-1025: *Electra*, 520-578, involves a famous criticism of the devices employed by Aeschylus and by Sophocles to bring about the

<sup>1</sup> See above, under A. A. 104.

recognition of Orestes by Electra. Euripides shows that the evidence of the lock of hair, the footprint, and the bit of woven work (used in the *Choephoroe* of Aeschylus, 167-234) are untrustworthy; he has Electra recognize Orestes by a scar. Sophocles (*Electra*, 900-901) introduces the lock of hair, and shows that it is unsatisfactory evidence; he has the recognition come through a signet ring (*Electra*, 1223). Euripides is apparently "taking exception" to both of his predecessors.

A. A. 1211-1221: *Vita* I, 'They say that Sophocles, when he heard that Euripides was dead, appeared in a dark mantle, and introduced his chorus and actors in the preliminary contest ungarlanded, and the people wept.'

A. A. 1239-1241: Argument to the *Medea*.

A. A. 1282-1284, under A. A. 104 and A. A. 1010.

A. A. 1295, "the cold . . . bard": *Vita* II states that Euripides had a serious face, and appeared thoughtful, austere, and averse to laughter and women. (Cf. A. A. 283; 1495; 1510; 1666-1667.) (Cf. "Browning and Athenaeus," under A. A. 1495.)

A. A. 1295, "grave-bearded bard": *Vita* I, 'He is said to have worn a long beard and to have had freckles on his face.' (Cf. A. A. 1555.)

A. A. 1330-1331, under A. A. 289-292.

A. A. 1412, under A. A. 419-430.

A. A. 1414 refers to the lost play *Bellerophon*, of which fragments are preserved.

A. A. 1416: *Supplices*. (Cf. A. A. 2481-2486.)

A. A. 1423: fragment 299 of the *Bellerophon*, 'Compared with necessity, all else is weak.' (Cf. A. A. 2068; 2147; 3478-3479; and cf. "Browning and Plato.")

A. A. 1444: *Iphigenia Aulidensis*, 1211-1212 (Orpheus charms the rocks). (Cf. "Browning and Pausanias.")

A. A. 1495, "cold Euripides," under A. A. 1295.

A. A. 1510, "cold," under A. A. 1295.

A. A. 1555, under A. A. 1295, "grave-bearded bard." (Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes.")

A. A. 1561-1562: *Vita* II, 'And Hermippus says that Dionysius, the tyrant of Sicily, after the death of Euripides sent a talent to the heirs of Euripides and got his psalterion, his tablet, and his graver;

and upon seeing them, ordered those who bore them to set them up in the temple of the Muses, inscribed with the names of Euripides and himself.' (Cf. *A. A.* 5686-5691.)

*A. A.* 1574, under *A. A.* 289-292.

*A. A.* 1612-1615: *Electra*, 900 *sqq.*

*A. A.* 1666-1667, under *A. A.* 1295.

*A. A.* 1789-1790: suggestive analogies include *Iphigenia Aulidensis*, 1034-1035, 'If there be Gods, thy righteousness shall earn Their favour; if not, wherefore should men toil?'; *Electra*, 583-584, 'We must believe no more In Gods, if wrong shall triumph over right'; and *Bellerophon*, fragment 286, 'Who then says there are Gods in heaven? They are not, they are not, unless a man wishes like a fool to indulge in the old story.' (Cf. *A. A.* 2051-2052; 2140; 2147; 2178; 2479-2480; 5710. Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes.")

*A. A.* 1941, "Cheiron's hero-pap," may be associated with *Iphigenia Aulidensis*, 926-927, in which Achilles says, 'Fostered by Cheiron, one that feared God most, Was I, and learned to tread no tortuous ways.'

*A. A.* 1953, under *A. A.* 104 and *A. A.* 1010.

*A. A.* 2051-2052, under *A. A.* 1789-1790.

*A. A.* 2054: *Iphigenia Aulidensis*, 793-800, 'For thy sake, child of the swan arch-necked, If credence-worthy the story be That Leda bare to a winged bird thee, When Zeus with its plumes had his changed form decked, Or whether in scrolls of minstrelsy Such tales unto mortals hath Fable brought, Told out of season, and all for nought.'

*A. A.* 2064: fragment of the *Melanippe*, 487 (Nauck), 'I invoke sacred aether, abode of Zeus'; fragment of the *Chrysippus*, 839 (Nauck), 'Mightiest Earth and Aether of Zeus.' (Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes," "Browning and Cicero," "Browning and Diogenes Laertius," and "Browning and Lucian.")

*A. A.* 2140: *Hercules*, 339-341; 498-501; particularly 501, 'Yet oft hast thou been prayed: in vain I toil.' This line in the *Apology* must, by the context, be based on the *Hercules*. The protests of Amphitryon against the failure of Zeus to help him are therefore probably the source. (Cf. *A. A.* 1789-1790.)

*A. A.* 2147, "There are no gods," under *A. A.* 1789-1790.

*A. A. 2147*, "but there's 'Necessity'": fragment of the *Bellerophon*, 299 (Nauck), quoted under *A. A. 1423*. Cf. fragment 965 (Nauck), 'Who of mortals has acquiesced in necessity is wise among us and understands divine matters.'

*A. A. 2178*, under *A. A. 1789-1790*.

*A. A. 2237-2241*: fragment of the *Bellerophon*, 297 (Nauck), explains that the more a man profits by boldness in evil, the less he minds censure; and fragment of the *Cresphontes*, 459, states that a man should amass enough wealth to ward off grief. Such remarks about money must have been the suggestion on which Browning was working.

*A. A. 2243* is perhaps based on the statements in some of the Arguments to the plays of Euripides regarding the rating of them, as the specific details in the following lines come from such sources.

*A. A. 2245*: Argument II of the *Hippolytus*, 'Euripides was first; Iophon, second; and Ion, third.' (Cf. *A. A. 2250; 2253*; and see "Browning and Aristophanes.")

*A. A. 2250*, under *A. A. 2245*.

*A. A. 2253*, under *A. A. 2245*.

*A. A. 2254*, "Euphorions": Argument to the *Medea* by Aristophanes Grammaticus, 'Euphorion first, Sophocles second, Euripides third.'

*A. A. 2264-2265*, under *A. A. 267-270*.

*A. A. 2266*: the *Erechtheus*, a lost play, of which fragments remain. (Cf. *A. A. 2332*.) Browning may have had particularly in mind the address by Erechtheus in fragment 360 (Nauck).

*A. A. 2332* is probably based on the speech of Erechtheus, devoting his daughter to death for the good of the state, referred to under *A. A. 2266*. The fragment is fairly long, and does great credit to the power of Euripides in developing a sincere patriotic appeal.

*A. A. 2385-2392*, under *A. A. 1001-1003*.

*A. A. 2392-2397*: *Cyclops*.

*A. A. 2398-2406*, under *A. A. 1005-1006*.

*A. A. 2479-2480*, under *A. A. 1789-1790*.

*A. A. 2481-2486*: *Supplices*, 409-455. (Cf. *A. A. 1416*.)

*A. A. 2549*, under *A. A. 1011*.

*A. A. 2940*, under *A. A. 162-163*.

A. A. 3020-3034: fragment 453 (Nauck) of the *Cresphontes*.

A. A. 3478-3479, under A. A. 1423.

A. A. 3535-5048: *Hercules*.

A. A. 5174-5175: *Rhesus*. (Cf. "Browning and Homer.")

A. A. 5191-5196: *Rhesus*, 921-925:

'What time we came unto Pangaeus' ridge,  
Whose dust is gold, with flute and lyre arrayed,  
We Muses, for great strife of minstrelsy  
With Thracia's cunning bard; and we made blind  
Thamyris, who full oft had mocked our skill.'

(Cf. A. A. 5267-5268.) (Cf. "Browning and Homer.")

A. A. 5267-5268, under A. A. 5191-5196.

A. A. 5289-5291, under A. A. 214; and see under A. A. 311-315.

A. A. 5336: fragment of the *Aeolus*, 19 (Nauck). (Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes" and "Browning and Athenaeus.")

A. A. 5551-5553: *Electra*, 167-169, 'Atreides' child, Electra, I have come Unto thy rustic home.'

A. A. 5571-5579: *Electra*.

A. A. 5589-5605: *Electra*.

A. A. 5643-5645: *Vita* I provides this date for the birth of Euripides, 'He was born in Salamis in the archonship of Callias in the seventy-fifth Olympiad, when the Greeks fought the Persians at sea.' The day and the month are provided by Plutarch (see "Browning and Plutarch").

A. A. 5686-5691, under A. A. 1561-1562.

A. A. 5693-5697, under A. A. 47-50.

A. A. 5710, under A. A. 1789-1790.

"Of Pachiarotto and how he Worked in Distemper," 581, mentions Euripides.

"Oh, Love, Love"<sup>1</sup> is a translation of the *Hippolytus*, 525-544.

"Apollo and the Fates," headnote, refers to *Alcestis*, 12, 33, in which it is stated that Apollo cozened the Fates in securing the promise that Admetus might escape death if a person might be found who would die in his place.

"Bernard de Mandeville," 204-206, compares Euripides and Aeschylus as interpreters of myth.

<sup>1</sup> Centenary Edition, IX, 345; first printed in J. P. Mahaffy's *Euripides*, 1879.

## BROWNING AND HERODOTUS

*Sordello*, II, 89-92: Herodotus 3, 28, describes Apis. (Cf. "Browning and Pliny.")

*Sordello*, V, 81-84: Herodotus, 1, 53, 'and the opinions of both oracles concurred, foretelling "that if Croesus should make war on the Persians, he would destroy a mighty empire.'" Herodotus, 1, 90-91, recounts how, after being defeated and captured by Cyrus, Croesus sent certain Lydians to Delphi to ask if it were the custom of the Greek gods to be ungrateful, and if the god were not ashamed to have encouraged Croesus by his oracles to make war on the Persians; whereto the Pythian is reported to have answered, among other statements, that had Croesus desired to be truly informed, when the oracle foretold that if he made war on the Persians he would subvert a great empire, he ought to have sent again to inquire whether his own or that of Cyrus was meant.

*R. & B.* I, 295-297: Herodotus, the stories of Croesus, Xerxes, and Polycrates. Of these, perhaps the most impressive, in relation to Browning's lines, is that of Croesus and Solon (Herodotus, 1, 29-91).

*R. & B.* VIII, 570-571, "The Athenian Code, Solon's": Herodotus, 1, 29, 'Solon, an Athenian, who, having made laws for the Athenians at their request, absented himself for ten years,' etc. (Cf. "Browning and Plutarch.")

*B. A.* 163: Herodotus, 2, 145, 'Among the Greeks, the most recent of the gods are thought to be Hercules, Bacchus, and Pan,' etc. The line may, however, have been suggested by the *Bacchae* of Euripides, on which is based the passage in which it occurs (cf. "Browning and Euripides").

*Prince Hohenstiel-Schwangau, Saviour of Society*, 1028-1035: Herodotus, 7, 31, 'Xerxes, going by this way, met with a plane-tree, which, on account of its beauty, he presented with golden ornaments, and, having committed it to the care of one of the immortals, on the next day he arrived at Sardis,' etc.

*Fifine at the Fair*, 1294-1320: Herodotus, 1, 23-24, gives the story of how Arion of Methymna, leaving Periander to voyage to Italy and Sicily, when the Corinthian sailors conspired to throw him into the sea and seize his money, 'having put on all his robes, and taken

his harp, stood on the rowing benches and went through the Orthian strain,' then leaped into the sea, and was carried on the back of a dolphin to Taenarus. Arion 'was the first,' writes Herodotus (1, 23), 'that we are acquainted with, who composed, named, and represented the dithyrambs at Corinth'; and (1, 24) that he 'continued a long time with Periander.'

*A. A. 176-180:* Herodotus, 6, 21, 'the Athenians made it evident that they were excessively grieved at the capture of Miletus, both in many other ways, and more particularly when Phrynicus had composed a drama of the capture of Miletus, and represented it, the whole theatre burst into tears, and fined him a thousand drachms for renewing the memory of their domestic misfortunes; and they gave orders that thenceforth no one should act this drama.'

*A. A. 682,* "Ye circumcised of Egypt," might be associated with Herodotus, 2, 36, 'the Egyptians are circumcised'; but is probably based on Aristophanes (see "Browning and Aristophanes").

*A. A. 2860-2861:* Herodotus, 3, 115, 'nor am I acquainted with the Cassiterides islands, from whence our tin comes.' (Cf. *A. A. 5146*.)

*A. A. 5146,* "the Tin-islands," under *A. A. 2860-2861*.

"La Saisiaz," 419: Herodotus, 1, 32 (in the famous address of Solon to Croesus) "for the Deity having shown a glimpse of happiness to many, has afterward utterly overthrown them." Perhaps, however, no particular source is properly to be adduced.

"Phedippides," 1-88: Herodotus, 6, 105-106, 'And, first, while the generals were yet in the city, they dispatched a herald to Sparta, one Phidippides, an Athenian, who was a courier by profession, one who attended to this very business. This man, then, as Phidippides himself said and reported to the Athenians, Pan met near Mount Parthenion, above Tegea; and Pan, calling out the name of Phidippides, bade him ask the Athenians why they paid no attention to him, who was well inclined to the Athenians, and had often been useful to them, and would be so hereafter. The Athenians, therefore, as their affairs were then in a prosperous condition, believed that this was true, and erected a temple to Pan beneath the Acropolis, and in consequence of that message they propitiate Pan with yearly sacrifices and the torch race. This Phidippides, being sent by the generals at that time when he said Pan appeared to him,

arrived in Sparta on the following day after his departure from the city of the Athenians, and on coming in presence of the magistrates, he said, "Lacedaemonians, the Athenians entreat you to assist them, and not to suffer the most ancient city among the Greeks to fall into bondage to barbarians; for Eretria is already reduced to slavery, and Greece has become weaker by the loss of a renowned city." He accordingly delivered the message according to his instructions, and they resolved indeed to assist the Athenians; but it was out of their power to do so immediately, as they were unwilling to violate the law; for it was the ninth day of the current month, and they said they could not march out on the ninth day, the moon's circle not being full. They therefore waited for the full moon.' Herodotus, 6, 48-49, tells us how Darius 'dispatched heralds, appointing different persons to go to different parts throughout Greece, with orders to demand earth and water for the king.' The Athenians, however, threatened the Aeginetae when they gave the tribute of earth and water to Darius, thinking that the Aeginetae did so out of desire to join the Persians against the Athenians. Herodotus, 6, 94, 'War was accordingly kindled between the Athenians and the Aeginetae. But the Persian pursued his own design . . . desirous of subduing those . . . who had refused to give him earth and water.' (Cf. "Browning and Pausanias.") "O latest," in line 6 of the poem, is probably a reminiscence of the passage in Herodotus, 2, 145, quoted under *B. A.* 163, above. On line 9, see "Browning and Aristophanes" and "Browning and Thucydides." On lines 76-77, see "Browning and Aeschylus."

"Pheidippides," 115-120, may be associated with the account in Herodotus, 1, 31, of the happy death of Cleobis and Biton, the conclusion of which is (in Solon's words), "After they had done this in sight of the assembled people, a most happy termination was put to their lives; and in them the deity clearly showed that it is better for a man to die than to live."

"Echetlos," 13-15: Herodotus, 6, 111, states that 'The war-minister, Callimachus, commanded the right wing'; 6, 113, 'The battle at Marathon lasted a long time; and in the middle of the line, where the Persians themselves and the Sacae were arrayed, the barbarians were victorious;' 6, 114, 'And . . . the war-minister, Callimachus,

was killed, having proved himself a brave man.' (Cf. "Browning and Pausanias.")

"Echetlos," 18, "the Sakian . . . the Mede": Herodotus, 6, 113 (quoted under "Echetlos," 13-15, above).

"Echetlos," 21, "the last blood-plashed seaside": Herodotus, 6, 113, 'They followed the Persians in their flight, cutting them to pieces, till, reaching the shore, they called for fire and attacked the ships.'

"Echetlos," 28-29: Herodotus, 6, 132-136, gives the account of the wretched end of Miltiades after receiving an injury to his thigh at Paros. He was tried by the Athenians on a charge of having deceived them, and 'The people so far favoring him as to acquit him of the capital offense, and having fined him fifty talents for the injury he had done, Miltiades soon after ended his life by the putrefaction and mortification of his thigh.' How Miltiades urged the Athenians to give battle to the Persians at Marathon, and succeeded in inducing the polemarch Callimachus to give the deciding vote for battle is explained in Herodotus, 6, 109. (Cf. "Browning and Pausanias.")

"Gerard de Lairesse," 333-334, seems reminiscent of the accounts of Darius in Herodotus.

#### BROWNING AND HESIOD

"Of Pachiarotto and how he Worked in Distemper," 573-576: *Opera et Dies*, 770-771. Browning has "egeinato" where Hesiod has *γεινατο*.

#### BROWNING AND HOMER<sup>1</sup>

*Pauline*, 323-324, "an old hunter Talking with gods": *Iliad*, 24, 55-64, the gods at the wedding of Peleus with Thetis.

*Pauline*, 324-325: *Odyssey*, 3, 157-164, Nestor says, "And these sailed very quickly; for a god smoothed the whale-like sea. And arriving at Tenedos we offered sacrifices to the gods, longing for home; but Jupiter did not yet design our return." . . .

*Pauline*, 919-921: *Odyssey*, IX, 82-97, the ships of Odysseus come after a stormy voyage to the land of the Lotus-Eaters.

<sup>1</sup> In this section are included, besides the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, some works anciently ascribed to Homer.

*Paracelsus*, II, 357-358, "hast withstood her lips, The Siren's": *Odyssey*, 12, 165-200, the escape of Odysseus from the Siren.

*Paracelsus*, III, 907-910: *Odyssey*, 19, 572-581, describes the bow of Ulysses, which plays a principal part in the contest, and in the slaying of the suitors, in book 21. *Iliad*, 18, 478-608, describes the shield of Achilles; *Iliad*, 19, 364-399, describes the appearance of Achilles in his new armor, gleaming in the midst of the host, the brightness of his shield reaching the sky, his helmet shining like a star, and his whole armor glittering like the shining sun.

*Pippa Passes*, I, 427, "Phene, which is, by interpretation, sea-eagle": the name might have been known to Browning from *Odyssey*, 3, 372, or 16, 217.

*Pippa Passes*, II, 46-47: *Odyssey*, 22, 8. The line is appropriate in *Pippa Passes*, because it deals with the death of a rival in love.

"The Englishman in Italy," 199-227, may be associated with the account of the Sirens in *Odyssey*, 12, 165-207.

"Old Pictures in Florence," 101: *Hymn to Apollo*, 300-304, where Apollo kills "the snake" at Parnassus.

"Cleon," 41-42: *Odyssey*, 6, 42-46, the cloudless serenity of Olympus, without wind or snow.

"Mr. Sludge, 'The Medium,'" 1436-1438: *Iliad* (in general).

*R. & B.* I, 490: *Iliad*, 2, 667-670. (Cf. "Browning and Pindar.")

*R. & B.* II, 1003-1006, mentions Helen, Troy, and Paris. (Cf. *R. & B.* V, 1264.)

*R. & B.* III, 1450-1455: *Odyssey*, 8, 266-366. (Cf. *R. & B.* VI, 1459-1463; IX, 868-877; XI, 1958.)

*R. & B.* IV, 1144: *Odyssey*, 8, 266-366, particularly 362-363, 'But she, the laughter-loving Venus, came to Cyprus, to Paphos, where is her grove and incensed altar.' (Cf. "Browning and Virgil.")

*R. & B.* V, 1264, under *R. & B.* II, 1003-1006.

*R. & B.* VI, 1459-1463, under *R. & B.* III, 1450-1455.

*R. & B.* VIII, 898-900: *Iliad*, 4, 34-36. For the Latin version, see "Browning and Persius."

*R. & B.* IX, 548-551: *Odyssey*, 4, 240-248. (Cf. "Browning and Euripides.")

*R. & B.* IX, 626, "Helen's nepenthe": *Odyssey*, 4, 219-226.

*R. & B.* IX, 845-846, mentions the fall of Troy after ten years.

*R. & B. IX*, 868–877,<sup>1</sup> under *R. & B. III*, 1450–1455.

*R. & B. IX*, 985 and 988: *Iliad*, 1, 423–427.

*R. & B. IX*, 1391–1393: *Iliad*, 5, 87–92.

*R. & B. XI*, 1119–1127: *Iliad*, 6, 179–183.

*R. & B. XI*, 1925, “Aegiochus,” is the epithet frequently applied to Zeus in Homer (e.g., *Iliad*, 15, 175). (Cf. *R. & B. XI*, 1936.)

*R. & B. XI*, 1936, “Aegiochus,” under *R. & B. XI*, 1925.

*R. & B. XI*, 1958, under *R. & B. III*, 1450–1455. In the *Iliad* (l. c.) Apollo asks Mercury if he would be willing to be caught in the net with Venus as Mars had been caught by Vulcan, so that Apollo is taken here by Guido as a condoner of adultery.

*R. & B. XI*, 2211–2213: *Odyssey*, 10, 203 *sqq.* (the story of Circe).

*B. A.* 187–190: *Iliad*, 4, 350, or *Odyssey*, 1, 64, *ποίσν σε ἔρος φύγεις ἔρκος δόδοντων*; the phrase *ἔρκος δόδοντων* appears frequently in Homer. *Iliad*, 3, 221–223, ‘But when he did send forth the mighty voice from his breast, and words like unto wintery flakes of snow, no longer then would another mortal contend with Ulysses.’ *Iliad*, 12, 278–286, contains a remarkable simile of a snowstorm to describe the storm of missiles in a battle. (Cf. “Donald,” 234–235.)

*Fifine at the Fair*, 209–217, refers to the relations between Helen and Venus. The reference is to the *Iliad* in general. (Cf. *Fifine at the Fair*, 263–264; 358–361; 416–422; 584; 2285.)

*Fifine at the Fair*, 263–264, under *Fifine at the Fair*, 209–217. “Purple prows” may be a version of *νέας φοινικοπαρόντος* of *Odyssey*, 11, 124; 23, 271.

*Fifine at the Fair*, 358–361, under *Fifine at the Fair*, 209–217. ‘Beaked ships’ are mentioned in *Iliad*, 2, 392. “Equal-sided ships” may be a version of *νῆας ἀμφιελίσσας*, of *Iliad*, 2, 165, and elsewhere. “Well-greaved Greeks” is a translation of the common Homeric phrase, *ἴκνημιδες Ἀχαιοί*.

*Fifine at the Fair*, 416–422, under *Fifine at the Fair*, 209–217.

*Fifine at the Fair*, 584, under *Fifine at the Fair*, 209–217.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. A. K. Cook's comment on this passage includes the following remarks:—“Many critics, ancient and modern, have rejected the passage (i.e., *Odyssey*, 8, 266–366) ‘seeing scandal’ in it. Others, including Mr. Gladstone, have regarded it as ‘neither unworthy of Homer nor unlike him.’ The question of its authenticity is fully discussed in Dr. Merry's edition of the *Odyssey*, i, pp. 332–333.”

*Fifine at the Fair*, 774-786: *Odyssey*, 4, 365-425. 'The sea-beasts with bitter breath' appear in line 406 of the *Odyssey*, *l. c.*

*Fifine at the Fair*, 2285, under *Fifine at the Fair*, 209-217.

*A. A. 401-403: Batrachomyomachia*, 160-167, describing the armor and arms of the frogs, gives them sharp bulrushes for spears. (Cf. "Browning and Lucian.")

*A. A. 1914-1917: Iliad*, 7, 219-224, 'And Aias came near bearing his tower-like shield of bronze, with seven-fold ox-hide, that Tychios had wrought him cunningly; Tychios . . . who made him his glancing shield, of sevenfold hides of stalwart bulls, and overlaid the seven with bronze. This bare Telamonian Aias before his breast,' etc. Concerning the shield, cf. *Iliad*, 7, 245 and 266; 11, 545; and concerning his power in feats of strength, see *Iliad*, 23, 842-843.

*A. A. 5174-5182: Iliad*, 2, 594-600 . . . 'and Dorion — where the Muses met Thamyris the Thracian, and made an end of his singing, as he was faring from Oichalia, from Eurytos the Oichalian; for he averred with boasting that he would conquer, even did the Muses themselves sing against him, the daughters of Aegis-bearing Zeus; but they in their anger maimed him, moreover they took from him the high gift of song and made him to forget his harping.' — (Cf. *A. A. 5188-5193; 5263-5272*.) (On *A. A. 5174-5175*, see also "Browning and Euripides.")

*A. A. 5188-5193*, under *A. A. 5174-5182*. The internal rhyming in *A. A. 5189* may have been suggested by the Homeric formula (e. g. *Iliad*, 2, 484; 11, 218; 14, 508; 16, 112) 'Ἐστερε νῦν μοι, Μοῦσαι 'Ολύμπια δώματ' ἔχονται. "Perpend the first, the worst" at the beginning of a song about the Muses is at any rate similar in effect to these invocations to the Muses in the *Iliad*. (On *A. A. 5191-5193*, see also "Browning and Euripides.")

*A. A. 5263-5272*, under *A. A. 5174-5182*. (On *A. A. 5267-5268*, see also "Browning and Euripides.")

"St. Martin's Summer," 71-72: *Odyssey*, 23, 210-212, 'but the gods have given thee toil, who envied that we, remaining near one another, should be delighted with youth, and reach the threshold of old age.'

*The Two Poets of Croisic*, 1225-1226, probably refers to Agamemnon and Homer in connection with the *Iliad*.

"Donald," 234-235, "as Homer would say, 'within grate Though teeth kept tongue'": see *B. A.* 187-190.

"Helen's Tower" (published in December, 1883; written in 1870): *Iliad*, 3, 121 *sqq.*, the account of Helen's visit to the Scaean Gate, whence she observes the Greeks, and watches the single combat between Paris and Menelaus. The phrase 'Ελένην ἐτῇ πιθεῖον, which furnishes the motto for the poem, occurs in line 154 of the *Iliad*, *l. c.*

"Apollo and the Fates," headnote, refers the reader to "Hymn. in Mercurium, v. 559." Lines 558-563 of the *Hymn to Mercury* state that the three Fates feed on honey and bring all things to pass; that they tell the truth when drunk on the fresh honey, but deceive when they are deprived of it.

"Gerard de Lairesse," 409-410: *Odyssey*, 11, 488-491, where Achilles in Hades says, "I would wish, being on earth, to serve for hire with another man of no estate, who had not much livelihood, rather than rule over all the departed dead."

"Charles Avison," 225-231: *Iliad*, 3, 234-244.

"Fust and his Friends," 65, mentions Helen of Troy.

"Beatrice Signorini," 250-253: *Odyssey*, 23, 333-336, where Odysseus tells Penelope of the episode of Calypso. "Embracings and the rest" is based on the passage preceding this in the *Odyssey*.

"Development" mentions the general substance of the *Iliad*; refers to the *Batrachomyomachia*, the *Hymns*, and the lost *Margites*; recounts Byron's theory that Scio was probably the birthplace of Homer; discusses Wolf's *Prolegomena*; and informs us that Browning first read the *Iliad* in Pope's translation, and afterward in Heyne's edition (the name is spelled *Heine* in the poem).

"Development," 101-102, "love my wedded wife, Like Hector": *Iliad*, 6, 369-496, where Hector bids farewell to his wife.

"Gorousios Oinos":<sup>1</sup> the title is from the *Iliad*, 4, 259, and Heyne's note *ad loc.* states that the phrase "dixit vinum senibus praeberi solitum honoris causa."

<sup>1</sup> "This poem, which was put into type at the same time as the volume *Jocoseria* (1883), was not eventually published, but came to light in its present form as a rough printed proof in what is known as 'galley-slip' . . . in May 1913. . . . It was first published in the *Cornhill Magazine* and the *Century Magazine*, April,

## BROWNING AND HORACE

*Sordello*, II, 683-685, "Apollo, seemed it now, perverse had thrown Quiver and bow away, the lyre alone Sufficed." *Odes*, 2, 10, 18-20, 'Apollo sometimes rouses the silent lyric muse, neither does he always bend his bow.' (Cf. *R. & B.* IX, 1542-1544.)

*Sordello*, V, 66: *Odes*, 1, 37, 5, mentions Caecuban as a highly-prized wine; and line 14 of the same Ode mentions Mareotic wine as the sort with which the Egyptian queen had been crazed.

*A Soul's Tragedy*, Act II, 532, "a profane vulgar": *Odes*, 3, 1, 1, "profanum vulgus." (Cf. "Imperante Augusto Natus Est —" 90.)

"An Epistle containing the Strange Medical Experience of Karshish, the Arab Physician," 137, "The golden mean": *Odes*, 2, 10, 5, "Auream quisquis mediocritatem." (Cf. *R. & B.* IV, 1278; VIII, 861; X, 1698; and "Christopher Smart," 22-23.)

"Instans Tyrannus": *Odes*, 3, 3, 1-8, 'Not the rage of the people pressing to hurtful measures, not the aspect of a threatening tyrant, can shake from his settled purpose the man who is just,' etc. The phrase "instantis tyranni" appears in line 3 of the Ode.

"The Statue and the Bust," 250, "De te, fabula!": *Satires*, 1, 1, 69-70, "Quid rides? mutato nomine de te Fabula narratur."

*R. & B.* II, 114-115: *Satires*, 1, 7, 3, "Omnibus et lippis notum et tonsoribus esse."

*R. & B.* II, 1270, "Canidian hate": *Epodes*, 5, 11-24, shows Canidia as a witch torturing a boy and preparing poisoned ointments; *Epodes*, 17, is a dialogue between Horace and Canidia, in which she refuses to do anything but increase by her magic the frenzy of love in the poet. (Cf. "White Witchcraft.")

*R. & B.* II, 1376-1377: *Epodes*, 5, 19, where 'the gore of a loathsome toad' is one of the poisons used by Canidia. (Cf. *R. & B.* V, 1389.)

1914." (Headnote under the title in *New Poems by Robert Browning and Elisabeth Barrett Browning*, New York, the Macmillan Company, 1915.) The poem is reprinted on p. 1336 of the one-volume edition of the *Complete Poetical Works of Robert Browning*, New York, the Macmillan Company, 1919. It was suppressed, doubtless because of its attack on contemporary poets.

R. & B. III, 410-419: *Satires*, 2, 6, 77-117, the story of the town mouse and the country mouse. (Cf. "Browning and Aesop.")

R. & B. III, 1322: *Ars Poetica*, 139, "Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus." (Cf. "Browning and Aesop.")

R. & B. IV, 31-32: *Satires*, 1, 5, 12-13.

R. & B. IV, 1278, under "An Epistle containing the Strange Medical Experience of Karshish, the Arab Physician," 137.

R. & B. V, 922, "Stans pede in uno": *Satires*, 1, 4, 10. The phrase means 'without the slightest effort.'

R. & B. V, 1389, under R. & B. II, 1376-1377.

R. & B. VIII, 47-58, follows the train of thought of *Odes*, 2, 16, though not closely enough to be regarded as directly based on it. The contempt for the "heights o' the court" (line 46) is paralleled in *Odes*, 1, 1, 7-8, 'This man (it delights), if a crowd of the capricious Quirites strive to raise him to the highest dignities.' The contempt for "the camp" is paralleled in *Odes*, 1, 1, 23-25, 'The camp, and the sound of the trumpet mingled with that of the clarion, and wars detested by mothers, rejoice many.' "Nutshell" may be a translation of "cassa nuce," in *Satires*, 2, 5, 36.

R. & B. VIII, 475, "Poscimur!": *Odes*, 1, 32, 1. The word means We are called upon (for an ode.)

R. & B. VIII, 861, under "An Epistle containing the Strange Medical Experience of Karshish, the Arab Physician," 137.

R. & B. VIII, 1183-1184: *Satires*, 2, 7, 116. Browning wrote *mt* instead of *mihi*, for the sake either of his own metre or of making Dominus Hyacinthus use a prose rhythm rather than that of Horace.

R. & B. VIII, 1234-1235: *Satires*, 1, 2, 44-46, "quin etiam illud Accidit, ut quidam testes caudamque salacem Demeteret ferro. 'Iure' omnes; Galba negabat."

R. & B. VIII, 1805-1807: *Epodes*, 8, 13-14, "Nec sit marita, quae rotundioribus Onusta baccis ambulet."

R. & B. IX, 217: *Ars Poetica*, 148-149, "Semper ad eventum festinat et in medias res Non secus ac notas auditorem rapit," etc.

R. & B. IX, 347-348: *Odes*, 2, 4, 17-18. *Illam* in Horace is changed to *illum* in Browning.

R. & B. IX, 405, "Insanit homo": *Satires*, 2, 7, 117.

R. & B. IX, 576-582, may be associated with *Odes*, 4, 2, 1-4, 'Whoever endeavors, O Iulus, to rival Pindar, makes an effort on wings fastened with wax by art Daedalean, about to communicate his name to the glassy sea.'

R. & B. IX, 713-714: *Odes*, 1, 13, 15-16, 'those sweet kisses, which Venus has imbued with the fifth part of all her nectar.'

R. & B. IX, 722-723: *Ars Poetica*, 142, "Qui mores hominum multorum vidit et urbes."

R. & B. IX, 838: *Odes*, 3, 11, 35, "Splendide mendax," etc.

R. & B. IX, 873, "nugatory song": *Satires*, 1, 9, 2, "nugarum" (the word may, in the mouth of Horace in this context, mean 'trifling songs,' or something of the sort). (Cf. R. & B. VIII, 58.)

R. & B. IX, 891, "the garb of truth": *Odes*, 1, 24, 7, "nudaque Veritas."

R. & B. IX, 1018-1019: *Satires*, 1, 1, 24-25, "quamquam ridentem dicere verum Quid vetat?" (Cf. A. A. 393; 461; 1030; 2798; 2990-2991; 3091-3093.)

R. & B. IX, 1506: *Satires*, 2, 1, 86, "Solventur risu tabulae, tu missis abibis."

R. & B. IX, 1542-1544, under *Sordello*, II, 683-684.

R. & B. IX, 1564, "tenax proposito": *Odes*, 3, 3, 1, "Justum et tenacem propositi virum."

R. & B. X, 1191, "reluctant dragons": *Odes*, 4, 4, 11, "reluctantes dracones."

R. & B. X, 1698, "the golden mean," under "An Epistle containing the Strange Medical Experience of Karshish, the Arab Physician," 137. The phrase here is attributed to Greek, however, so that in connection with it should be considered such Greek phrases as *τὸ μέσον* or *ἡ μεσότης* (Aristotle, *Ethics*, 2, 5) and the proverbial *μηδὲ γανγά* (Diogenes Laertius, "Solon," 16).

R. & B. XI, 800, "one genius ruled our births": *Epistles*, 2, 2, 187, "Scit Genius, natale comes qui temperat astrum."

R. & B. XII, 29: *Epistles*, 1, 11, 28, "Strenua nos exercet inertia."

B. A. 194-195: *Epistles*, 1, 19, 44-45, 'you are confident that it is you alone who can distil the poetic honey.' (Cf. A. A. 2719-2732.)

*Prince Hohenstiel-Schwangau, Saviour of Society*, 2080-2081, "A nod,  
Out-Homering Homer!": *Ars Poetica*, 359, "quandoque bonus  
dormitat Homerus." (Cf. *A. A.* 2080.)

*Prince Hohenstiel-Schwangau, Saviour of Society*, 2082-2083, "Mean-  
while, Use the allotted minute!": *Odes*, 1, 11, 8, "carpe diem quam  
minimum credula posterō."

*Fifine at the Fair*, 1280-1281: *Satires*, 2, 3, 314-320, the anecdote of  
the frog emulating the ox. (Cf. "Browning and Aesop"; cf.  
"Jochanan Hakkadosh," Illustration I, 13-14.)

*Fifine at the Fair*, 1430-1441: *Odes*, 1, 3. (Cf. *Fifine at the Fair*, 1445-  
1446; "George Bubb Dodington," 234 and 277.)

*Fifine at the Fair*, 1445-1446, under *Fifine at the Fair*, 1430-1431.

*Red Cotton Night-Cap Country*, 1626-1627, "Favonian Breeze" and  
"Auster's lead" are probably based on the familiar occurrence of  
these names of winds in Horace.

*A. A.* 393, under *R. & B. IX*, 1018-1019.

*A. A.* 461, under *R. & B. IX*, 1018-1019.

*A. A.* 977-980: *Satires*, 1, 4, 1-5, 'The poets Eupolis, and Cratinus,  
and Aristophanes, and others, who are authors of the ancient  
comedy, if there was any person deserving to be distinguished for  
being a rascal or a thief, an adulterer or a cut-throat, or in any  
shape an infamous fellow, branded him with great freedom.' (Cf.  
*A. A.* 1805-1808; 2920-2927; 3210-3215).<sup>1</sup>

*A. A.* 1030, under *R. & B. IX*, 1018-1019.

*A. A.* 1298-1301: *Satires*, 1, 10, 7-8, 'it is by no means sufficient to  
make an auditor grin with laughter.'

<sup>1</sup> The four passages from *A. A.* here cited form a group the direct suggestion  
for which must come — and may come solely — from the *Prolegomena de Comœdia*  
(see "Browning and Aristophanes," under *A. A.* 968-982, for references). But  
the term "thief" has a more definite similarity to Horace than to the *Prolegomena*,  
and the rebuke to the adulterer is less clearly suggested by the *Prolegomena* than  
by Horace. There is no mention in the *Prolegomena* of fops or fribbles (*A. A.* 3214-  
3215), nor any general phrase like Horace's 'in any shape an infamous fellow' to  
suggest it. Browning doubtless knew these lines in Horace, and encountered them  
quoted in connection with ancient comedy in Meineke's *Historia Critica Comicorum  
Graecorum* (vol. I of his edition of the *Fragmenta Comicorum Graecorum*, p. 271).  
At any rate, though certainty of the point is not quite possible, the lines of Horace  
appear to have formed an integral part of Browning's information on the topic  
involved.

A. A. 1805-1808, under A. A. 977-980.

A. A. 2080, "Zeus nods," may be connected with the line quoted under *Prince Hohenstiel-Schwangau, Saviour of Society*, 2080-2081, with "Zeus" instead of "Homer."

A. A. 2341-2346: *Satires*, 1, 8, 1-7, 'Formerly I was the trunk of a wild fig-tree, an useless log: when an artificer, in doubt whether he should make a stool or a Priapus of me, determined that I should be a god. Henceforward I became a god, the greatest terror of thieves and birds: for my right hand restrains thieves, and a bloody-looking pole stretched out from my frightful middle: but a reed fixed upon the crown of my head terrifies the mischievous birds, and hinders them from settling in these new gardens.'

A. A. 2648: *Epistles*, 2, 1, 153-155, 'Through fear of the bastinado, they (comic poets) were reduced to the necessity of changing their manner, and of praising and delighting.' (Cf. A. A. 3219.)

A. A. 2719-2732, under B. A. 194-195.

A. A. 2798, under R. & B. IX, 1018-1019.

A. A. 2920-2927, under A. A. 977-980.

A. A. 2990-2991, under R. & B. IX, 1018-1019.

A. A. 3091-3093, under R. & B. IX, 1018-1019.

A. A. 3210-3215, under A. A. 977-980.

A. A. 3219, under A. A. 2648.

*The Inn Album*, 3017-3018: *Ars Poetica*, 185, "Ne pueros coram populo Medea trucidet."

"Of Pachiarotto and how he Worked in Distemper," 294-295: *Odes*, 2, 1, 7.

*The Two Poets of Croisic*, 593, "irritabilis gens": *Epistles*, 2, 2, 102, "genus irritabile vatum."

"Jochanan Hakkadosh," Illustration I, 13-14, under *Fifine at the Fair*, 1280-1281.

"On Singers": *Satires*, 1, 3, 1-3. The poem is a translation. It was first published in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 1883, and may be found on p. 1336 of the Macmillan one-volume edition of Browning's works. It runs as follows:

All singers, trust me, have this common vice,  
To sing 'mid friends you'll have to ask them twice.  
If you don't ask them 't is another thing,  
Until the judgment-day be sure they'll sing.

"Christopher Smart,"<sup>1</sup> 22-23, "the Golden Mean," under "An Epistle containing the Strange Medical Experience of Karshish, the Arab Physician," 137.

"George Bubb Dodington," 234, "aes triplex," under *Fifine at the Fair*, 1430-1441.

"George Bubb Dodington," 277, "triplly cased in brass," under *Fifine at the Fair*, 1430-1441.

"Fust and his Friends," 368-369: *Epistles*, 1, 6, 67-68, "Si quid novisti rectius istis Candidus imperti."

"White Witchcraft," under *R. & B.* II, 1270.

"Imperante Augusto natus est —" 8-10: *Epistles*, 1, 16, 27-29, quotes a bit from the panegyric on Augustus by Lucius Varius Rufus — if we accept the scholiast's statement as to the authorship.

"Imperante Augusto natus est —" 11-12: *Satires*, 1, 10, 43-44, "forte epos acer Ut nemo Varius ducit."

"Imperante Augusto natus est —" 15, "thou offshoot of Etruscan kings": *Odes*, 1, 1, 1, "Maecenas atavis edite regibus."

"Imperante Augusto natus est —" 17: *Satires*, 1, 3, 137, mentions the quadrans as the customary price of a bath in Rome. "In the vestibule of the public baths of Pompeii was found a box, stated by Sir W. Gell to have been for receiving the bathers' fee." (Comment *ad loc.* by the Rev. A. J. Maclean, in his edition of the works of Horace, London, 1853.) From some such annotation may have come the suggestion for the "vestibule" in line 5 of Browning's poem, and for the idea here of paying on departure from the baths. (Cf. "Browning and Juvenal.")

"Imperante Augusto natus est —" 72, mentions Horace.

"Imperante Augusto natus est —" 73, mentions "Varius" (i.e., Lucius Varius Rufus). See under *ibid.* 11-12 and 8-10, above.

"Imperante Augusto natus est —" 90, "the vulgar nameless crowd," under *A Soul's Tragedy*, Act II, 532.

"Imperante Augusto natus est —" 104-105: *Epodes*, 5, 57-58, 'let the dogs of Suburra (which may be matter of ridicule for everybody) bark at the aged profligate, bedaubed with ointment.'

<sup>1</sup> This poem is given the name of the famous translator of Horace, from whose version the translations used in this section are quoted. See line 181 of the poem.

## BROWNING AND IAMBlichus

*Red Cotton Night-Cap Country*, 544-545, "a shaft should shine, Bear me along, another Abaris": *Life of Pythagoras (De Vita Pythagorica)*, ch. 19, 'he (Abaris) gave Pythagoras a dart which he took with him when he left the temple (among the Hyperboreans), as a thing that would be useful to him in the difficulties that would befall him in so long a journey. For he was carried by it, in passing through inaccessible places,' etc. (Thomas Taylor's translation, London, 1818.) In Herodotus, 4, 36, Abaris carries the arrow through the world without eating, but is not borne by it.

## BROWNING AND JUVENAL

*R. & B.* V, 811, "Locusta's wile": *Satires*, 1, 71, mentions Locusta as skilful in poisoning. (Cf. "Browning and Suetonius" and "Browning and Tacitus.")

*R. & B.* X, 1698, "Know thyself": *Satires*, 11, 27, "Know thyself" came down from heaven.' Mr. A. K. Cook, in his Commentary upon *The Ring and the Book*, p. 277, mentions this analogy to Juvenal; but the adage is thrice familiar, and appears in so many Greek sources that it is unsafe to connect it with any specific one. (Cf. "Browning and Xenophon.")

"Of Pachiarotto and how he Worked in Distemper," 161-164, refers to Juvenal's attacks on women.

"Imperante Augusto natus est —" 17: *Satires*, 6, 447, "quadrante lavari." (Cf. "Browning and Horace.")

## BROWNING AND LIVY

*Sordello*, VI, 455, "Brutus in the presence": Livy, 1, 56, where L. Junius Brutus feigns idiocy or madness before Tarquin.

*Pippa Passes*, III, 6, "'Lucius Junius)": Livy, 1, 56-60; 2, 1-6, recount the patriotic career of Brutus.

*R. & B.* IV, 887, "Lucretia" (the name represents chastity, in the context): Livy, 1, 58, is the *locus classicus* for the story of the rape of Lucretia. (Cf. *R. & B.* VIII, 1681-1687; IX, 177-180.)

*R. & B.* VIII, 1681-1687, under *R. & B.* IV, 887.

*R. & B.* VIII, 1688-1703: Livy, 3, 48.

*R. & B. IX*, 177-180: Livy, 1, 58, Tarquin threatens Lucretia with dishonor if she refuses him: 'he says that he will lay a murdered slave naked by her side when dead, so that she may be said to have been slain in infamous adultery.' (Cf. *R. & B. IV*, 887.) Collatinus was the husband of Lucretia, mentioned in Livy, 1, 57-58, in connection with the other details used by Browning.

*R. & B. IX*, 760-764: Livy, 25, 31.

*R. & B. IX*, 893, "Thalassian-pure": Livy, 1, 9 (in the account of the rape of the Sabine women) 'They say that one, far distinguished beyond the others for stature and beauty, was carried off by the party of one Thalassius, and while many inquired to whom they were carrying her, they cried out every now and then, in order that no one might molest her, that she was being taken to Thalassius; that from this circumstance this term became a nuptial one.'

*R. & B. IX*, 998, "anti-Fabius": Livy, 22, 11-17, where the cautious methods of conducting the war against Hannibal are recounted. The full name of this Fabius was Quintus Fabius Maximus Verucosus.

*R. & B. IX*, 1494: Livy, 8, 8, explains that the Triarii were the experienced soldiers at the rear in a battle. 'Hence, when a difficulty is felt, "Matters have come to the Triarii," became a usual proverb.' (Cf. "George Bubb Dodington," 327.)

*R. & B. XII*, 813-815, attributes to Livy the statement that Arezzo was founded by Janus of the Double Face (Janus Bifrons). Livy mentions various instances in which the conduct of the Aretines during the Second Punic War was treacherous (e.g., in 27, 21; 27, 24).

*Prince Hohenstiel-Schwangau, Saviour of Society*, 1558: Livy, 5, 36-49, the account of the capture of Rome by the Gauls under Brennus, and the final defeat of the Gauls.

"George Bubb Dodington," 327, under *R. & B. IX*, 1494.

#### BROWNING AND LONGUS

"Saul," 37-41, is associated by Mr. G. W. Cooke (Riverside Edition of Browning, II, 410) with the piping of Daphnis to his goats and other animals in *Daphnis and Chloe* (see 4, 15). The analogy seems extremely doubtful, because the incident in Saul is not one of those

in the piping of Daphnis, and because the incident in Browning might easily have been originated independently by the poet.

#### BROWNING AND LUCIAN

*Pippa Passes*, II, 366–373: *Dialogi Mortuorum*, XXII, 423–425.<sup>1</sup>  
*B. A. 50*: *Zeuxis*, 3, 841 (a ship is lost off Malea). (Cf. "Browning and Alciphron.")  
*B. A. 185*, "Out with our Sacred Anchor": *Juppiter Tragoedus*, 698–699, 'the sheet anchor (*ιερὰν ἀγκυραν*), which with all your might and skill you will never be able to stir'; *Fugitivi*, 13, 372, *τὴν ὑπάρτην ἀγκυραν*, *ἥν ιερὰν οἱ ναυτιλλομενοὶ φασι*.  
*Fifine at the Fair*, 1147, "some Thalassia saves": *Dialogi Marini* XI, 316–318, where Xanthus asks Thalassa to save him.  
*A. A. 78–84*: *Anacharsis*, 20, 900, where a city is taken not as its erections, such as ramparts, but as its citizens — the soul of a city as distinct from its body. (Cf. *A. A. 94*; and cf. "Browning and Thucydides.")  
*A. A. 94*, under *A. A. 78–84*.  
*A. A. 106*, "Olumpian": *Imagines*, 17, 476, where Pericles is referred to as Olympius. (Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes" and "Browning and Plutarch"; and cf. *A. A. 2014*).  
*A. A. 114*: *Anacharsis*, 17, 896, where Solon speaks of going straight to the Pnyx and mounting the pulpit and addressing the Athenians.  
*A. A. 132–137*: *Deorum Concilium*, 10, 533 (Momus is speaking) . . . 'but you, Aegyptian dog's-face, with the linen wrapper about you, who are you, and how came you to think that you may bark among the gods? . . . I should blush to mention the storks and apes and goats, and the other still more preposterous deities from Aegypt, which I know not how have been foisted into heaven,' etc. *Juppiter Tragoedus*, 42, 690, states that some Egyptians confer the honor of being gods on 'the Crocodile, the Cynocephalus, the Cat, or the Ape.' The cynocephali were a species of ape frequent in Egypt, with heads similar to those of dogs. *Toxaris*, 28, 537, men-

<sup>1</sup> References to Lucian are ordinarily to the chapters and marginal page numbers (from Reitz) of the text of Carolus Jacobitz's edition (three volumes, Leipzig, 1896). In such cases as this the number of the dialogue is given, and the page numbers.

tions 'a pair of silver cynocephali' as stolen from a temple. If Browning's "dog-ape" were Anubis, Lucian might furnish abundant references in point; e.g., *Vitarum Auctio*, 16, 556; *Juppiter Tragoedus*, 9, 652. Allusions to Momus, in which he is represented as finding fault with the gods and their inventions, and otherwise censorious, appear in *Deorum Concilium*, 2, 528; *Nigrinus*, 32, 74; *Dialogi Deorum* XX, 2, 254; *Quomodo historia conscribenda*, 34, 44; *Verae Historiae* II, 3, 106; *Hermotimus*, 20, 758-759; *Juppiter Tragoedus*, 19, 664; 23, 668; and ('carping at all men do') *Icaromenippus*, 31, 788. In the *Deorum Concilium* and the *Juppiter Tragoedus*, Momus, taking part as censor of the gods, represents Lucian himself — a circumstance which may have suggested to Browning the thought of a critic apotheosized.

A. A. 403: *Verae Historiae* I, 16, 83, 'Behind them stood the stalky mushrooms, heavy armed infantry, ten thousand in number, having their name from their bearing a kind of fungus for their shield, and using the stalks of large asparagus for spears.' (Cf. "Browning and Homer.")

A. A. 491, "Alkamenes": *Juppiter Tragoedus*, 7, 650; 7, 651; *Imagines*, 3, 461; 6, 464; *Quomodo historia conscribenda*, 51, 62; *Hermotimus*, 19, 757 — all mention Alcamedes as among the most eminent sculptors, along with Phidias, Praxiteles, and others. His statue of Venus is particularly praised for its 'cheek-bones and prominent parts of its full face' in *Imagines*, 6, 464. (Cf. "Browning and Pausanias.")

A. A. 644, "Melition": *Dialogi Meretricii* IV. The dialogue is between Melissa and Bacchis.

A. A. 896: *Pro Imaginibus*, 12, 491, contains a full and careful expression of the very commonplace idea that a proper distance is necessary to critical contemplation.

A. A. 1113-1115: *Prometheus*, 4, 188; but the idea is familiar. (Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes" and "Browning and Plato.")

A. A. 1321-1328 may be associated with *Hermotimus* 5, 744-745, in which the persevering on the journey of life reach the summit, and look down upon the rest of mankind as so many pismires. Lycinus answers Hermotimus that 'to make us crawl about upon the bare skin of mother earth, is indeed too bad!' But to the most casual

reader of these lines in the *Apology* there appear reminiscences of Keats's "On first looking into Chapman's Homer" (i.e., "tremble somewhat into ken" as compared with Keats's "swims into his ken") and of Christian's path. (Cf. *A. A.* 1343-1344, of equally uncertain relationship to the answer of Lycinus, but interestingly parallel in substance.)

*A. A.* 1343-1344, under *A. A.* 1321-1328, above.

*A. A.* 1752: *Piscator*, 25, 595-596 (Diogenes is the speaker), 'But, after all, those comic writers took that liberty with only one individual (i.e. Socrates) and that at the Dionysia, where such farcical entertainments are tolerated, as appendages to the festival, and Bacchus being a laughter-loving god, perhaps might be pleased with them.' (Cf. *A. A.* 2355-2360; 2589-2597; 2769-2777.)

*A. A.* 1960, "country-flavored": *Dialogi Meretricii VII*, 3,298, 'he is indeed but a country lad, and smells not of the best.'

*A. A.* 1981-1988: *Piscator*, 30, 598 . . . 'those your ancient favorites, whom I considered as the legislators of the best mode of living, who stretched out their hands to all who pursue that object, by inculcating the choicest and most salutary instructions into the minds of all,' . . .

*A. A.* 2014, under *A. A.* 106.

*A. A.* 2029-2056 (also 2072-2073; 2080-2107): *Icaromenippus*, 5, 756, 'I accordingly looked about for the principal among them (the sophists); that is, for such as were distinguished by the gloomiest countenance, the sallowest complexion, and the dirtiest beard; it cannot otherwise be, thought I, than that men who in speech and appearance differ so much from the common dwellers upon earth, must understand more than other people of the affairs of heaven.' *de Parasito*, 50, 874, 'and it is worth while to see how he (the dead parasite) differs from the dry, smutty, goat-bearded carcase of the miserable churl the dead philosopher, whose soul has evacuated his body from fear before the battle began. . . such sallow, uncombed, and squalid, puny creatures.' . . . *Bis Accusatus*, 11, 803, 'What do you call philosophers! Those down-looking, sour-faced fellows, with the long goat-beards like mine, who are so fond of hearing themselves talk?' *Icaromenippus*, 6, 757-758, 'How ridiculous

would it appear to you, my friend, if you had heard their arrogance and vaunting sermocinations; if you had heard how these people, who after all walk upon the earth like the rest of us, and instead of being more sharsighted than ourselves, nay, some of them either through age or laziness are decrepit and purblind, nevertheless profess to see beyond the boundaries of heaven, to measure the sun, to expatiate upon objects above the moon, and precisely as if they had dropped from the stars, compose a dissertation on their bulk and fashion, . . . and presume to say how many yards the moon is distant from the sun, though they frequently do not know how many stadia you have to go from Megara to Athens.' *Bis Accusatus*, 15, 810, 'The Academy is always ready to speak on both sides, *pro* and *con*, and professes to make it equally clear that a thing is black and that it is white. She (Drunkenness) can therefore, she says, first plead for me, and afterward for herself.' *Bis Accusatus*, 19-23, 814-822 (the causes of Stoa *vs.* Pleasure for stealing Dionysius, and of Pleasure *vs.* Virtue touching Aristippus). *Vitarum Auctio*, 8, 548 (Diogenes is the speaker) 'I live, like Hercules, in perpetual war with pleasure.' *Dialogi Deorum*, II, 1, 206 (Zeus complains against Cupid) 'I . . . must turn myself into a satyr, into a bull, into an eagle, and into a golden shower, if I would come at them (mortal women).' *Bis Accusatus*, 13, 807; 15-18, 809-814 (the cause of Drunkenness *vs.* the Academy for stealing Polemon). *Dialogi Mortuorum* (numerous "Charon's companies," including many philosophers and sophists; cf. *Pippa Passes*, II, 366-373). *Icaromenippus*, 29-33, 786-789, where Zeus attacks the philosophers in terms similar to those in some of the passages quoted above. Among his remarks are these: 'Now these are the men who . . . babble insipid stuff respecting the gods, and cant about their far-famed virtue in a tone of tragical declamation to a crowd of simple credulous youths, and teach them the vile art of confounding the common sense of mankind by captious sophistries'; and 'they (the Epicureans) touch us to the quick by affirming that we are careless of human affairs, and have nothing to do with the events of the world.' When Zeus ended his speech, 'the whole assembly with one voice cried out: Blast them! Burn them! Exterminate them!' etc. *Juppiter Tragoedus*, 37, 684-685 (Damis is the speaker), 'How

should they (the gods) have leisure to think about me, having such an endless multiplicity of affairs to mind; for you say the concerns of the whole world, which are certainly very numerous and intricate, lie upon their shoulders. They have however, I suppose for that very reason, left you yourself unpunished for your many perjuries and other offences which I forbear to particularize,' etc. (For various details among the passages in *A. A.* under consideration, see "Browning and Alciphron," "Browning and Aristophanes," "Browning and Athenaeus," "Browning and Diogenes Laertius," "Browning and Philostratus," "Browning and Plato," "Browning and Plutarch," and "Browning and Xenophon.")<sup>1</sup>

*A. A.* 2062-2071: *Icaromenippus*, 32, 788-789, 'They touch us (the gods) to the quick, by affirming that we are careless of human affairs, and have nothing to do in the events of the world.' *Juppiter Tragoedus*, 36-38, 684-685 (Damis and Timocles debate about the existence of the gods. Damis denies that they exist, or care about mortals, and sets up necessity as the law of nature, in opposition to the idea of divine arrangement). *Juppiter Tragoedus*, 41, 689, 'As to Euripides, whenever the fable he is at work upon leaves him free scope to speak his own convictions, do you not hear him say bluntly and without disguise,

Seest thou on high the aether's boundless space,  
The earth beneath it in its warm embrace;  
Think this is Zeus, acknowledge this as god? <sup>2</sup>

and in another place:

O Zeus! — if any Zeus there be —  
For I, I know him only by the name;<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In this group of passages we have an instance of how Browning, writing from memory, could settle on a topic suggested by Aristophanes's comedies, fit it into the framework of the *Apology*, and fill in the details with conflations and minglings of whatever impressive humanistic illustrative matter came foremost in the welter of his memory and fancy, having ancient authority for everything he desired. To make Aristophanes discuss the sophists, and to depend on memory alone for the materials, is a task which hardly another English poet than Browning would have been confident enough to attempt.

<sup>2</sup> Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Euripides, *Inc.* 941.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Euripides, *Melanippe*, 480.

and more of the like nature?' (Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes," "Browning and Cicero," "Browning and Diogenes Laertius," "Browning and Euripides," and "Browning and Plato.")

*A. A. 2072-2073*, under *A. A. 2029-2056*.

*A. A. 2080-2107*, under *A. A. 2029-2056*.

*A. A. 2144-2145* (also 2150-2151): *Bis Accusatus*, 20, 815, 'whether it is better with downcast looks to wallow in sensual pleasure like swine, . . . or generously, as becomes free men, to philosophize, to postpone the agreeable to what is fair and just, and neither to fear pain as some unsubduable monster, nor with a slavish disposition to prize the agreeable above everything, and to place the sovereign felicity in honey and figs.' (On "Saperdion," see "Browning and Athenaeus.")

*A. A. 2150-2151*, under *A. A. 2144-2145*.

*A. A. 2238-2241*: *Somnium*, 11, 718-719, . . . 'Thesmopolis annoyed me with his clack about heaven knows what, of virtue, and indoctrinating me, that two negatives make an affirmative, and that I know not by what arguments it may be proved, that when it is day it cannot be night. He even proved to me that I had horns,<sup>1</sup> and continued prating in this manner, as if he would force me to be a philosopher whether I would or not.' . . . (Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes.")

*A. A. 2355-2360*, under *A. A. 1752*.

*A. A. 2589-2597*, under *A. A. 1752*.

*A. A. 2643-2644*: *Longaevi*, 24, 226-227, 'A few years before his (Sophocles's) death, when his son Iophon wanted to dispossess him of his property by law, alleging that he was become childish with

<sup>1</sup> William Tooke's footnote (in his translation of Lucian, two volumes, London, 1820) reads: 'The pedants of the stoic sect, especially at that time, vaunted much of their subtlety in dialectics and syllogistics. Amongst other of their sophisms, with which they took delight in puzzling the illiterate, was the captious proposition which they called the *horned*. — 'What you have not lost, Micyllus, that you have still,' says Thesmopolis. — Certainly, replies Micyllus. — You have not lost horns. — No. — Therefore you have horns, answers the learned gentleman, bursting into a loud laugh at having thus pozed the honest cobler.' This footnote seems a more direct suggestion for the passage in the *Apology* than the text of Lucian. There are various other indications than this that perhaps Browning had read Tooke's Lucian.

age, he contented himself with rehearsing before his judges his Oedipus upon the Hill, that he had recently composed: which had such an effect upon them that they dismissed him with marks of the highest admiration; but unanimously pronounced the son to be out of his senses.' (Cf. *A. A.* 3500-3512; cf. also "Browning and Plutarch" and "Browning and Sophocles.") The idea of the single son sharing the property appears to come from Lucian rather than from Plutarch or the *Vita* of Sophocles.

*A. A.* 2769-2777, under *A. A.* 1752.

*A. A.* 2848-2893: *Anacharsis*, 34-36, 914-917, where Solon explains to Anacharsis the Scythian that the Athenians do not wear arms or carry swords in time of peace, and even have a law against doing so; and that to appear naked at the public games is a great honor, and an incentive to the cultivation of fine bodies. (Cf. "Browning and Thucydides.")

*A. A.* 3500-3512, under *A. A.* 2643-2644.

*A. A.* 5491-5493: *De morte Peregrini*, 30, 351-352, where Lucian's *anonymus* opposes to Peregrinus's forged oracle of the Sibyl an extemporary one of Bakis. (Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes" and "Browning and Plutarch.")

"Pheidippides," the motto, and 105-120: *pro lapsu inter salutandum*, 3, 727-728, 'The point of time when the use of the formulary of *chaire* or *chairete* began to be more restricted, is marked by an anecdote of the runner Pheidippides, who announced the victory at Marathon to the assembled archons, who were under great apprehension about the event of the fight, in these words: Rejoice! We are victorious! (*χαλπετε, νικῶμεν*). And no sooner had he uttered them than he fell down dead, and thus his last breath was spent in delivering these joyful tidings.' (Cf. "Browning and Plutarch.")

#### BROWNING AND LUCRETIUS

"Gold Hair," 86-87: *De Rerum Natura*, 2, 14 *sqq.*, "o miseras hominum mentis, o pectora caeca!" etc.

*R. & B. V.*, 1365, "merum sal": *De Rerum Natura*, 4, 1162.

*A. A.* 28: *De Rerum Natura*, 3, 842, "non si terra mari miscebitur et mare caelo."

## BROWNING AND MARTIAL

R. & B. XII, 745-746: *Epigrams*, 4, 89, 2.

## BROWNING AND MOSCHUS

R. & B. IX, 529-536: *Idylls*, 1, 1-5.

"Gerard de Lairesse," 283-307: *Idylls*, 5, 1-6, 'Pan loved his neighbor Echo; Echo loved a frisking Satyr; and Satyr he was head over ears for Lyde. As Echo was Pan's flame, so was Satyr Echo's, and Lyde master Satyr's. 'T was love reciprocal; for by just course, even as each of those hearts did scorn its lover, so was it also scorned being such a lover itself.'

## BROWNING AND OVID

*Pauline*, 321-322, "a god Wandering after beauty": *Metamorphoses*, 1, 452-567 (especially 490-556), Apollo pursuing Daphne. (Cf. *Paracelsus*, II, 423-424; *Sordello*, I, 937-938; 961-962.)

*Pauline*, 322-323, "a giant Standing vast in the sunset": *Metamorphoses*, 4, 631-662, the story of Atlas changed to a mountain.

*Pauline*, 572-573: *Metamorphoses*, 3, 131-252, the story of Actaeon torn by the dogs.

*Pauline*, 656-667: *Metamorphoses*, 4, 663-739, the story of Perseus and Andromeda. (Cf. *Sordello*, II, 211; R. & B. VII, 390-393; "Francis Furini," 141-143, 489-501, 529.)

*Paracelsus*, II, 423-424, "no nymph," etc., under *Pauline*, 321-322. Daphne was changed to a laurel tree. In *Metamorphoses*, 9, 324-393, Dryope is changed to a lotus-tree.

*Paracelsus*, II, 425: *Metamorphoses*, 8, 176-178, Ariadne changed to a star.

*Paracelsus*, V, 123-125: *Metamorphoses*, 1, 151-162, Jove and the Titans. (Cf. A. A. 1682; "Francis Furini," 146-147; and cf. "Browning and Virgil.")

*Paracelsus*, V, 126-128: *Metamorphoses*, 1, 748 to 2, 339, the story of Phaëthon. (Cf. "A Death in the Desert," 392-393; "Gerard de Lairesse," 71-80.)

*Sordello*, I, 937-938, "divine Apollo's choice, His Daphne," under *Pauline*, 321-322.

*Sordello*, I, 961-962, under *Pauline*, 321-322.

*Sordello*, II, 177-180: *Fasti*, 2, 559-560, 'And let not the curved spear part thy virgin ringlets, maiden, who appearest to thy mother already of marriageable years.' (Cf. "Browning and Plutarch.")

*Sordello*, II, 211, under *Pauline*, 656-667.

*Sordello*, VI, 140, "Cydippe": the name may have been suggested by the *Heroines*, *Epistola XXI*, Cydippe to Acontius.

"Artemis Prologizes": "According to one form of the legend (narrated briefly by Virgil, *Aeneid*, 7, 765-777, and Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 15, 530-546), Hippolytus, having been killed by Phaedra's treachery and Theseus's wrath, was brought back to life by Asclepius, but was transported by Artemis to Italy (where he fell in love with the nymph Aricia, from whom the place Aricia received its name), under the name of Virbius." (Sir F. G. Kenyon, in the *Centenary Edition*, IV, xii-xiii.)

*A Blot in the 'Scutcheon*, Act II, 176-177, mentions Ovid, and refers to the *Metamorphoses*.

"The Glove," 12, mentions "Naso." Though lines 13-14 are apparently a quotation from Ovid, the words have not been found in that source.

"Old Pictures in Florence," 101, may be associated with *Metamorphoses*, I, 438-451. (Cf. *The Two Poets of Croisic*, 966-967.) The story of Apollo and the Python is, however, a very common one.

"A Death in the Desert," 392-393, may by a stretch of probability be associated with the passage referred to under *Paracelsus*, V, 126-128.

*R. & B.* I, 1157, mentions "Ovidian quip."

*R. & B.* II, 1221-1222: in the *Tristia*, 2, 1, 103, and 3, 5, 49, Ovid states that he has been exiled because he was the unintentional witness of something which Augustus resented his having seen. It has been supposed, on no definite grounds, that he had seen some misconduct of a female relative of the Emperor's. In *Tristia*, 4, 10, 59-60, Ovid states that in his youth he wrote poems about Corinna, who inspired the town. The official reason for his exile was that he had by his poetry encouraged adultery. Corinna appears in *Amores* (e.g., 1, 5, 9-26) as a paramour of the poet's. Some have suspected that this Corinna (a fictitious name) was a daughter or granddaughter of

the Emperor's. The matter is uncertain. (Cf. *R. & B.* V, 1357-1359.) That the "primrose-patch" of line 1222 is a metaphor for poetic composition is evidenced by Ovid's expression of regret, in the *Pontic Epistles*, 1, 8, that he cannot in Tomi water his gardens, tend his orchards, sow, or tend his herds as he did when he lived in Rome. The line is perhaps based on *Pontic Epistles*, 1, 5, 29-34, 'Dost thou, then, wonder why I write? I wonder as well; and I often ask myself, what I shall get by it. Does the multitude say truly, that poets are insane; and am I the greatest illustration of this saying? I, who, when I have been so often deceived in a barren soil, persist in sowing my seed in unproductive ground.' (Cf. *Pontic Epistles*, 1, 5, 53-58.)

*R. & B.* V, 1357-1359: "Ovid's art" refers to the *Arts Amatoria*; "Corinna" is instructed in eluding her guardian in *Amores*, 3, 1, 49-52 (cf. 1, 5, 9-26).

*R. & B.* V, 1451, may be associated with some such passage as *Tristia*, 4, 10, 115-132, or those from the *Pontic Epistles* mentioned under *R. & B.* II, 1221-1222.

*R. & B.* VII, 390-393, under *Pauline*, 656-667.

*R. & B.* VIII, 141-142, may be associated with *Metamorphoses*, 5, 549-550, where the owl is called a bird of ill omen.

*R. & B.* VIII, 972-973: *Tristia*, 4, 10, 15-26, where Ovid explains that his writing of poetry interfered with his youthful studies.

*R. & B.* VIII, 1626: *Metamorphoses*, 1, 140.

*R. & B.* IX, 340: *Tristia*, 5, 8, 18.

*R. & B.* IX, 577-580: *Metamorphoses*, 8, 183-235, the story of Daedalus and Icarus.

*R. & B.* IX, 968-978, may be associated with *Metamorphoses*, 11, 211-215, the story of Hesione.

*R. & B.* IX, 1362-1366: *Fasti*, 5, 241-242.

*R. & B.* XI, 2050-2053: "Byblis in fluvium" comes from *Metamorphoses*, 9, 663-665, though the word in the original is *fontem*; Lycan is changed to a wolf in *Metamorphoses*, 1, 232-239.

*A. A.* 1682, under *Paracelsus*, V, 123-125. But the story of the war with the Titans is familiar myth.

"The Two Poets of Croisic," 966-967, under "Old Pictures in Florence," 101.

“Francis Furini,” 141–143, under *Pauline*, 656–657.  
 “Francis Furini,” 146–147, under *Paracelsus*, V, 123–125.  
 “Francis Furini,” 489–501, under *Pauline*, 656–667.  
 “Francis Furini,” 529, under *Pauline*, 656–667.  
 “Gerard de Lairesse,” 71–80, under *Paracelsus*, V, 126–128.  
 “Gerard de Lairesse,” 120–125: *Metamorphoses*, 9, 324–393, especially 340–345, where Dryope plucks the lotus, and it bleeds.  
 “Imperante Augusto natus est —” 154–156: *Metamorphoses*, 1, 32–114. The “predecessor” is probably “quisquis fuit ille deorum” of line 32.

#### BROWNING AND PAUSANIAS

“Cleon,” 53–54, may be associated with Pausanias, 1, 15, the description of the Stoa Poecilé at Athens.

*B. A.* 337–338: Pausanias, 1, 20, mentions a ‘most ancient’ temple of Bacchus ‘at the theatre.’ It was between the theatre and the Ilyssus, as Browning has it. (Cf. *B. A.* 348–350; *A. A.* 199–202; and cf. “Browning and Thucydides.”)

*B. A.* 348–350, under *B. A.* 337–338.

*B. A.* 2696–2697: Pausanias, 1, 15, gives a detailed account of the paintings in the Stoa Poicilé, in one of which was represented Echetlus, the hero of Browning’s later poem.

*A. A.* 112–113: Pausanias, 1, 28, ‘As you descend, not into the lower parts of the city but only below the Propylaea.’ . . .

*A. A.* 199–202, under *B. A.* 337–338.

*A. A.* 488–492: Pausanias, 1, 21, mentions a statue of Euripides in the theatre at Athens, and refers to Sophocles, after his death, as ‘the new Siren,’ in a passage concerning paying honors to the dead dramatist; Pausanias, 1, 2, mentions a cenotaph of Euripides along the way up from the Piraeus; Pausanias, 5, 10, mentions Alcamenes as ‘a contemporary of Phidias and second only to him as statuary.’ For other mentions of Alcamenes, see Pausanias, 1, 8; 1, 19; 1, 20; 1, 24; 2, 30; 8, 9; 9, 11. (Cf. “Browning and Athenaeus,” “Browning and Euripides,” “Browning and Lucian,” and “Browning and Sophocles.”)

*A. A.* 1053–1054, “Stagbeetle, huge Taigetan (you guess — Sparté): Pausanias, 3, 20, ‘And as you go on thence on the road to Taygetus.

... At Alesiae there is a hero-chapel to Lacedaemon the son of Taygete. (There follow several mentions of Mount Taygetus.) (Cf. "Browning and Alciphron," "Browning and Aristophanes," and "Browning and Philostratus.")

*A. A. 1444*: Pausanias, 6, 20; 9, 5; 9, 17,—all provide stories of Amphion's moving stones by his music. (Cf. "Browning and Euripides.")

*A. A. 5200*: Pausanias, 4, 33, 'the river Balura. It was so called, they say, because Thamyris threw (*ἀποβαλλών*) his lyre away there in his blindness.' (Cf. *A. A. 5261-5262*.) In this chapter Pausanias mentions also Homer's account of the story of Thamyris.

*A. A. 5247-5250*: Pausanias, 9, 30, mentions in the temple at Helicon, statues of the muses, of poets, and of 'others notable for music, as blind Thamyris handling a broken lyre,' Arion, Hesiod, and Orpheus. (Cf. *A. A. 5270-5271*.) Pausanias, 10, 30 (the account of the paintings in the Lounge at Delphi), 'And Thamyris sitting near Pelias is blind and dejected in mien, with thick hair and beard, his lyre broken and the strings torn asunder. (Cf. "Browning and Sophocles," under *A. A. 5163-5173*.)

*A. A. 5260*: Pausanias, 4, 33, 'Thamyris the son of Philammon and the nymph Argiope. Argiope, they say, lived at Parnassus for a while, but when she became pregnant moved to Odrysae, because Philammon would not marry her. And this is the reason why they call Thamyris Odrysian and Thracian.'

*A. A. 5261-5262*, under *A. A. 5200*.

*A. A. 5270-5271*, under *A. A. 5247-5250*.

"Pheidippides," 1-88: Pausanias, 1, 28; 8, 54. But Herodotus provides everything that appears in these two passages in Pausanias, so far as Browning's poem is concerned.<sup>1</sup> (Cf. "Browning and Herodotus.")

<sup>1</sup> Browning changed 'Parthenium,' mentioned by Herodotus and Pausanias as the place where Pheidippides met Pan, to 'Parnes,' to have an Attic hill instead of a Laconian. He may have felt the more justified in doing so because of *Pausanias*, 1, 32, 'And at a little distance from the plain of Marathon is a mountain of Pan, and a cave well worth seeing. The entrance to it is narrow, but when you get well in there are rooms and baths, and what is called Pan's herd of goats, rocks very like goats in shape.' For the contention that Browning erred through carelessness, see Professor Cunliffe's "Browning and the Marathon Race," in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 24, 156.

“Echetlos”: Pausanias, 1, 32, ‘And there is apart a monument to Miltiades the son of Cimon, whose death occurred afterwards, when he failed to capture Paros, and was on that account put on his trial by the Athenians. . . . And it chanced, as they say, in the battle that a man of rustic appearance and dress appeared, who slew many of the Persians with a ploughshare, and vanished after the fight: and when the Athenians made enquiry of the oracle, the god gave no other answer, but bade them honor the hero Echetlus.’ Pausanias, 1, 15, ‘And of the combatants there stand out most plainly in the painting Callimachus, who was chosen by the Athenians as Polemarch, and Miltiades, one of the generals, and the hero who was called Echetlus,’ . . . (Cf. “Browning and Herodotus.”)

“Aeschylus’ Soliloquy,” 84-90; 96; 126-134:

Oh the days  
 In which I sat upon Hymettus hill  
 Ilissus seeming louder: and the groves  
 Of blessed olives thinking of their use  
 A little tunicked child and felt my thoughts (?)  
 Rise past the golden bees against thy face  
 Great sun upon the sea. . . .  
 . . . There I sate a child . . .  
 And then it was revealed, it was revealed  
 That I should be a priest of the Unseen  
 And build a bridge of sounds across the straight  
 From Heaven to earth whence all the Gods might walk  
 Nor bend it with their soles (?)  
 And then I saw the Gods tread past me slow  
 From out the portals of the hungry dark  
 And each one as he past, breathed in my face  
 And made me greater —

Pausanias, 1, 21, ‘And Aeschylus used to tell the story that when he was quite a lad, he slept in a field watching the grapes, and Dionysus appeared to him and bade him write tragedy: and when it was day, he wished to obey the god, and found it most easy work. This was his own account.’

Pausanias, 1, 32, ‘And the mountains of Attica are Pentelicus, famous for its stonequarries, and Parnes, which affords good hunting of wild boars and bears, and Hymettus, which is the best place for bees next to the territory of the Alazones.’ This second passage,

quoted for its mention of Hymettus and the bees, should hardly be regarded as a source for these details in the "Soliloquy"; it is, however, apposite.

#### BROWNING AND PERSIUS

"The Glove," 189, "Venienti occurrite morbo!": *Persius*, 3, 64.

R. & B. VIII, 898-900: "A scholiast on Persius (1, 4) quotes from a lost translation of the *Iliad* by a certain Labeo: 'Crudum manduces Priatum Priamique pisinnos.'" (Mr. A. K. Cook's note, in his *Commentary upon THE RING AND THE BOOK*. The information may be found in Harper's Latin Dictionary, s. v. *pisinnus*.)

R. & B. IX, 453-456: Persius, *Choliambi*, 8-11, "quis expedivit psittaco suum chaere / picasque docuit verba nostra conari? / magister artis ingenique largitor / venter, negatas artifex sequi voces." Between the first and the second of these lines a few manuscripts insert "corvos quis olim concavum salutare?" (A. K. Cook, *op. cit.*)

#### BROWNING AND PHILOSTRATUS

A. A. 42-43, "our soul . . . its fleshly durance dim and low": *In Honor of Apollonius of Tyana*, 7, 26, p. 281, 'We men are prisoners in a gaol during the time which is called life. This soul of ours in bondage of perishable flesh has much to endure; she is at the mercy of all the conditions incident to humanity.' But the idea of the body imprisoning the soul is a commonplace — in modern literature. (Cf. A. A. 497-503; and cf. "Browning and Plato.")

A. A. 497-503, under A. A. 42-43.

A. A. 813: *Apollonius*, 5, 14, p. 174; 'Upon traveling to Catania, near Mount Etna, they heard the inhabitants express the belief that Typhon was imprisoned there, and that from him arises the fiery interior Typhoon which embraces Etna.' *Apollonius*, 5, 13, p. 174, 'Other commentators held that Typho, the many-headed, threatened a disturbance in Sicily.' (Cf. "Browning and Pindar.")

A. A. 1053-1054, "Stagbeetle, huge Taügetan (you guess — Sparté): *Apollonius*, 4, 31, p. 149, 'When, after crossing Taugetus, he saw Lacedaemon in full vigor and the institutions of Lycurgus thriving.' . . . (Cf. "Browning and Alciphron," "Browning and Aristophanes," and "Browning and Pausanias.")

*A. A. 2105: Apollonius*, 4, 25-26, the original of the story in Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* on which Keats based *Lamia*. In *Apollonius*, the philosopher calls the bride at the wedding *Empousa*. In Burton and Keats the word does not appear. (Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes.")

*A. A. 2608-2609*, "a Karion, slave (Since there's no getting lower)": *Apollonius*, 3, 25, p. 103, 'If they arrive with a freight of Carians, and want to advertize their qualities, the best they can find to say of the slaves is that they do not steal.' (Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes.")

#### BROWNING AND PINDAR<sup>1</sup>

*R. & B. I, 490: Olympian Odes*, 7, 34. (Cf. "Browning and Homer.")

*A. A. 35-36*, "Helios' island-bride, Zeus' darling": *Olympian Odes*, 7, 14; 7, 54-74. (Cf. *A. A. 652-655*.)

*A. A. 652-655*, under *A. A. 35-36*.

*A. A. 813: Pythian Odes*, 1, 15-28, a description of the Typhon imprisoned under Aetna. (Cf. Browning and Philostratus.)

*A. A. 1924: Pythian Odes*, 10, 36, 'and he (Apollo) laugheth as he looketh on the brute beasts in their rampant lewdness.'

"Of Pachiarotto and how he Worked in Distemper," 546-548: *Olympian Odes*, 1, 111-112, 'Howsoever, for myself, the Muse is keeping a shaft most mighty in strength.' It is interesting to note that Browning wrote this passage in Greek on the fly-leaf of his *Old Yellow Book* (the source of *The Ring and the Book*).

"Epilogue" to the *Pachiarotto* volume, 61, mentions Pindar.

A translation of the third epode of Pindar's Seventh Olympian was written by Browning in January, 1883, in a letter addressed (but never sent) to the editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*. It was first published in *New Poems by Robert Browning and Elizabeth Barrett Browning*, pp. 38-39, and later in the one-volume Macmillan edition of Browning, p. 1335. The original is found in lines 51-53, immediately preceding the passage cited under *A. A. 35-36* and *652-655*. Browning's version is as follows:

<sup>1</sup> References in this section are to the edition of Pindar by Sir John Sandys, in the Loeb Classical Library.

And to these Rhodians she, the sharp eyed one,  
 Gave the supremacy in every art, —  
 And, nobly-labouring play the craftsman's part  
 Beyond all dwellers underneath the sun.  
 So that the very ways by which ye pass  
 Bore sculpture, living things that walk or creep  
 Like as the life: whence very high and deep  
 Indeed the glory of the artist was.  
 For, in the well-instructed artist, skill,  
 However great, receives our greeting,  
 As something greater still,  
 When unaccompanied by cheating.

## BROWNING AND PLATO

*Pauline*, 435-436, mentions Plato, with some familiarity.

*Pauline*, 588-600: *Phaedo*, 81-83; *Cratylus*, 400. (Cf. *Paracelsus*, I, 725-737; *A. A.* 42-43; 497-500; and cf. "Browning and Philostatus," on the body as the prison of the soul.)

*Paracelsus*, I, 392-396: *Laws*, 776b, 'handing on the torch of life from one generation to another.'

*Paracelsus*, I, 725-737, under *Pauline*, 588-600 (in connection with the notion of the body imprisoning the soul). The passage seems in general, Platonic.

*Paracelsus*, II, 633-635: *Symposium*, 189-193. (Cf. *Fifine at the Fair*, 679-694.)

*Sordello*, V, 60: *Republic*, 2-4, *passim*, deals with the functions and division of labor in the ideal state; *ibid.* 10, 596b-d, is a striking passage concerning the demiurge, or creative god.

*Pippa Passes*, II, 86, "human archetype," may be a reflection of the Platonic theory of the ideal original form (*Republic*, 6, 501b, etc.). (Cf. "Old Pictures in Florence," 85-88; *A. A.* 106-108.)

"Easter-Day," 91-92: *Republic*, 7, 530a, etc. (Cf. *Prince Hohenstiel-Schwangau, Saviour of Society*, 588.)

"Old Pictures in Florence," 85-88, reflects the Platonic notion that artists should imitate only the good, the ideal. (See, for example, *Republic*, 10, 595-608.) (Cf. also *Pippa Passes*, II, 86.)

*R. & B.* VI, 961, seems, by its joining the names of Plato and the Cephissus, reminiscent of the walk of Phaedrus and Socrates along

the Ilissus (the other stream near Athens), in the *Phaedrus*, 229-230, a passage familiar to Browning and to Elizabeth Barrett,<sup>1</sup> and used by Browning, apparently, in *B. A.* 337; *A. A.* 199-204; and *A. A.* 3448-3449.

*R. & B. X.*, 1289, "Remembered": *Phaedrus*, 249-251, the doctrine of *ἀνάμνησις*, familiar to English readers in Wordsworth's "Ode on the Intimations of Immortality in Childhood."

*B. A.* 337,<sup>2</sup> under *R. & B. VI*, 961.

*Prince Hohenstiel-Schwangau, Saviour of Society*, 588, under "Easter-Day," 91-92.

*Fifine at the Fair*, 679-694, under *Paracelsus*, II, 633-635.

*Fifine at the Fair*, 736-746, may be associated with *Republic*, 3, 402.

*Fifine at the Fair*, 2208-2209 and 2211-2212, seems Platonic. Cf. *Republic*, 10, 596-602.

*A. A.* (the general machinery of presentation): *Symposium* (the similar all-night discussion of tragedy and comedy, with Aristophanes participating).

*A. A.* 39-48: *Phaedrus*, 247-253 (cf. *Cratylus*, 400). (Cf. *A. A.* 50-58; 497-507; and cf. *Pauline*, 588-600.)

*A. A.* 50-58, under *A. A.* 39-48.

*A. A.* 106-108, under *Pippa Passes*, II, 86. The fancy in which Balaustion here indulges — that of a perfect Athens rebuilt in heaven — is very similar to the creation of the imaginary State in the *Republic*, 2, 369.

*A. A.* 199-204, under *R. & B. VI*, 961.

*A. A.* 497-507, under *A. A.* 39-48.

*A. A.* 1150-1151: *Republic*, 456, 458, 466, 540, where Plato treats of the functions of women as guardians in the ideal state, upon

<sup>1</sup> In a letter to Browning, dated February 12, 1846, Elizabeth Barrett alludes familiarly to the style of Plato, comparing the lucidity of it to that of "the water that ran beside the beautiful plane-tree" — an obvious reference to this passage in the *Phaedrus*.

<sup>2</sup> It seems extremely likely that, just as Plato's *Symposium* furnished the idea of an all-night discussion of comedy and tragedy as the groundwork for Aristophanes' *Apology*, so the famous walk along the Ilissus, ending in Phaedrus reading to Socrates, suggested to Browning the advantage of such a setting for Balaustion's *Adventure*, with Balaustion reciting a whole play to her companions. (Cf. *A. A.* 199-204; 3448-3449.)

terms as nearly as possible equal to those upon which the men are to act; and *Laws*, 784, 794, where Plato proposes the control of marriages by a council of women. (Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes.")

A. A. 1208-1210: *Symposium*, 223, Socrates discoursing on the identity of the genius of comedy and that of tragedy to Aristophanes and Agathon, and proving that the true artist in tragedy is an artist in comedy also; and *Republic*, 606, Socrates explaining how the love of comedy may turn a man into a vulgar buffoon. (Cf. A. A. 1298-1302; 1353-1391; 1465-1500; 2281-2288; and cf. "Browning and Aristotle.")

A. A. 1298-1302, under A. A. 1208-1210.

A. A. 1353-1391, under A. A. 1208-1210. Other sources are *Phaedrus*, 249-250, and *Laws*, 816. (Cf. "Browning and Aristotle.")

A. A. 1423, "necessity": *Republic*, 616; 617; *Laws*, 741; 818. (Cf. A. A. 2068; 2147; 3478-3479; and cf. "Browning and Euripides.")

A. A. 1465-1500, under A. A. 1208-1210.

A. A. 1559: *Theaetetus*, 143, and 209, allude to the flat nose of Socrates. (Cf. "Browning and Xenophon.")

A. A. 2033-2035: *Protagoras*, 315-316, describes Prodicus as somewhat invalid. (Cf. "Browning and Plutarch.")

A. A. 2039-2044: *Theaetetus*, *passim* — Protagoras's acceptance of all opinions is mentioned particularly on pp. 178 and 179; his theory of truth on pp. 152, 161, 166, 167, 168, and 171, (cf. *Cratylus*, 391); and his theory of falsehood on p. 152 (cf. *Euthydemus*, 286). (Cf. "Browning and Diogenes Laertius" and "Browning and Lucian.")

A. A. 2068, under A. A. 1423.

A. A. 2074, "Pound hemlock": *Phaedo*, 116 sqq., the account of the death of Socrates through drinking hemlock. (Cf. A. A. 3103; 3200.)

A. A. 2147, under A. A. 1423.

A. A. 2248-2249, refers to the composition of the Socratic dialogues. (Cf. A. A. 3145-3146.) (On "Aristullos," see "Browning and Aristophanes," under A. A. 1150.)

A. A. 2281-2288, under A. A. 1208-1210.

A. A. 2443-2444: *Alcibiades I* and *II* may have suggested the possibility of Alcibiades as a worthy figure. (Cf. Alcibiades in the *Pro-*

*tagoras* and the *Symposium*; and cf. "Browning and Plutarch" and "Browning and Thucydides.")

*A. A. 2455-2474*, appears reminiscent of the *Republic*.

*A. A. 3103*, "poisons him," under *A. A. 2074*.

*A. A. 3145-3146*, under *A. A. 2248-2249*.

*A. A. 3200*, "Wants hemlock!" under *A. A. 2074*.

*A. A. 3448-3449*, under *R. & B. VI*, 961.

*A. A. 3478-3479*, under *A. A. 1423*.

"Pietro of Abano," 78-79: *Phaedo*, 84e-85b. (Cf. "Pietro of Abano," 255-256; "Imperante Augusto natus est —" 71.

"Pietro of Abano," 181-184: "Plato's tractate" is perhaps the *Republic* or the *Laws*: "the Fair and Good" is the familiar phrase, *καλὸν κἀγαθόν* (e.g., in the *Apology*, 21d).

"Pietro of Abano," 255-256, under "Pietro of Abano," 78-79.

"Imperante Augusto natus est —" 71, under "Pietro of Abano," 78-79.

#### BROWNING AND PLATO COMICUS

*A. A. 376-377*: fragment 7 (Meineke's *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, 2, p. 626) of the 'Eoprai of Plato attacks the sibilance of Euripides.

#### BROWNING AND PLINY<sup>1</sup>

*Sordello*, II, 89-92: *Natural History*, 8, 71, mentions the 'cantharus' under the tongue of Apis. (Cf. "Browning and Herodotus.")

*R. & B. V*, 2009-2011: *Natural History*, 11, 19. (Cf. "Browning and Virgil.")

*R. & B. VII*, 977-979: *Natural History*, 11, 18. (Cf. "Browning and Virgil.")

"Francis Furini," 501-503, may refer to the story of Zeuxis and Parrhasius, in the *Natural History*, 35, 36. But the story of their contest in painting is thrice familiar.

<sup>1</sup> Despite the attempts to attribute to Pliny certain details of the spiders and the blue borage in "An Epistle containing the Strange Medical Experience of Karshish the Arab Physician," and despite also the few doubtful analogies cited in this section, it is fair to say that there is no convincing evidence that Browning drew any details of his poems from the *Natural History*. (See *Poet-Lore*, i, 518, referred to by G. W. Cook, in his *Browning Guide-Book*, p. 126.)

BROWNING AND PLUTARCH<sup>1</sup>

*Strafford*, Act I, Scene I, 200: *Tiberius Gracchus*, 20 and 21.

*Sordello*, II, 177-180: *Quaestiones Romanae*, 87. (Cf. "Browning and Ovid.")

*R. & B.* I, 221-222: *Solon*, 23, 1-2 (adulterers might be killed). (Cf. *R. & B.* VIII, 570-571.)

*R. & B.* I, 222-223: *Romulus*, 22, 4 (a husband could put away a wife for adultery). (Cf. *R. & B.* VIII, 573.)

*R. & B.* II, 1244: *Numa*, 10, 6.

*R. & B.* VI, 2098-2103, draws a picture of a student reading Plutarch.

*R. & B.* VIII, 570-571, under *R. & B.* I, 221-222. (Cf. "Browning and Herodotus.")

*R. & B.* VIII, 573, under *R. & B.* I, 222-223.

*R. & B.* IX, 760-764: *Marcellus*, 19, 7-10.

*R. & B.* XI, 1975-1976: *De Oraculorum Defectu*, 17, which narrates that "certain voyagers from Greece to Italy during the principate of Tiberius (it was afterwards said, on the very day of the Crucifixion) heard a voice from the Greek shore, bidding them to report that Pan was dead."<sup>2</sup>

*R. & B.* XI, 2410-2411: *Themistocles*, 31, 4-5. (Cf. *A. A.* 2074, "pour bull's blood." Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes.")

*B. A.* 6-8: *Alcibiades*, 18, 1; *Nicias*, 12; 14, 1. (Cf. "Browning and Thucydides.")

*B. A.* 9: *Nicias*, 14 sqq.

*B. A.* 10: *Nicias*, 28, 3, where his body is thrown out before the gates of Syracuse and offered for a public spectacle.

*B. A.* 56-245: *Nicias*, 29, describes the sufferings of the Athenian prisoners, and tells how some of the Athenians, captured in the disastrous Sicilian expedition, gained the favor of their masters, and perhaps their own freedom, if they could recite passages from Euripides, and adds that once a ship from Caunus, taking refuge from a pirate in the harbor at Syracuse was refused admission until

<sup>1</sup> References in this section are to the edition of the *Vitae* by Theod. Doehner, in two volumes (Paris, Didot, 1846-1847) and of the *Moralia* by J. F. Dübner, in two volumes (Paris, Didot, 1841) in the five-volume Plutarch of the Didot issue.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted from A. K. Cook's *Commentary on THE RING AND THE BOOK*.

it was ascertained that among her passengers were some who could recite Euripides. *Nicias*, 24, 5, is authority for the location of the temple of Heracles of *B. A.* 228-232 and 243-245, and for the honors done to Heracles by the Syracusans. (Cf. *B. A.* 257; 268; *A. A.* 209.) Various details in this passage come from many sources, and are considered under the proper headings. The main lines of the action coming from Plutarch, the details from a large number of sources, we have here a brief instance of Browning's way of keeping two or more strata of sources together.

*B. A.* 257, under *B. A.* 56-245.

*B. A.* 268, under *B. A.* 56-245.

*Fifine at the Fair*, 483: *Solon*. The relation is uncertain.

*A. A.* 71-117; (also *A. A.* 208; 217-218; 2013-2018; 2075-2076; 5461-5650): *Lysander*, 14, 5 to 15, 6 (the conditions of surrender; the council); 9, 3 to 12, 7 (the battle of Aegos Potami); *Timoleon*, 22, 1 (the demolition of certain fortifications); 25, 1 (engines of battery); *Alcibiades*, 36, 5 to 37, 4 (the battle of Aegos Potami, when 'Lysander fell upon them of a sudden'); 38, 1 (the thirty tyrants); 38, 5 (suggested destruction of the Athenian democracy); *Pericles*, 8, 1-4 (Pericles the Olympian, his public buildings, his 'thundering and lightning'); 13, 3-4 (the undying vitality of his works, the help of Phidias); 13, 11 (Phidias and Pericles); 13, 9 (the Propylaea); 12, 1-4 (the glory of the buildings); *Lycurgus*, 12, 10-11 (the black broth of the Spartans); *Antiqua Instituta Laconica*, 2 (the same); *Lycurgus*, 13, 3-7 (the Spartans unfamiliar with elegant architecture); 14, 8 (Spartan women 'the only women who bring forth men'); *Antiqua Instituta Laconica*, 18 (epitaphs in Sparta only on the monuments of those who died in battle). The various details of the passages of the *Apology* brought together in this group include many small analogies to various other sources than Plutarch; these are set forth under the proper headings.

*A. A.* 128-129: *Pericles*, 32, 1 (Hermippus has Aspasia indicted for impiety); 33, 8 (verses of Hermippus satirizing Pericles); 31, 3-4 (the trial of Phidias for theft of gold from the statue of Minerva); 3, 3-4 (Cratinus and Teleclides satirize Pericles); 16, 2 (Teleclides attacks Pericles). (Cf. *A. A.* 3383-3384.)

*A. A.* 150: *Lycurgus*, 18, 1 (the familiar anecdote of the Spartan boy

and the stolen fox which he might be said to have "feigned was dormant though it gnawed.") (Cf. *Varia Laconum Apophthegmata, omissis auctorum nominibus*, 32.)

A. A. 208, "Someone from Phokis," under *A. A.* 71-117.

A. A. 209, under *B. A.* 56-245.

A. A. 217-218, under *A. A.* 71-117.

A. A. 286, "Shadow of an ass!": *Decem oratorum Vitae, VIII, "Demosthenes,"* 64-65, 'When once at a meeting of the Athenians they would not suffer him (Demosthenes) to speak, he told them he had but a short story to tell them. Upon which all being silent, thus he began: A certain youth, said he, hired an ass in the summer time, to go from hence to Megara. About noon, when the sun was very hot, and both he that hired the ass and the owner were desirous of sitting in the shade of the ass, they each thrust the other away, — the owner arguing that he let him only his ass and not the shadow, and the other replying that, since he had hired the ass, all that belonged to him was at his dispose. Having said thus, he seemed to go his way. But the Athenians willing now to hear his story out, called him back, and desired him to proceed. To whom he replied: How comes it to pass that ye are so desirous of hearing a story of the shadow of an ass, and refuse to give ear to matters of greater moment? (Cf. "Browning and Aesop" and "Browning and Aristophanes.")

A. A. 448-450: *Aristides*, 5, 1, 'among the ten commanders appointed by the Athenians for the war, Miltiades was of the greatest name; but the second place, both for reputation and power, was possessed by Aristides.' (Cf. "Browning and Alciphron" and "Browning and Aristophanes.")

A. A. 990-991: *De Gloria Atheniensium*, 5. It is probable that Browning met with the decree in Meineke's *Historia Critica Comicorum Graecorum*, p. 40, where it is quoted from Plutarch.

A. A. 1180-1183: *Lysander*, 3, 1 (Lysander is made commander of the Lacedaemonian sea forces). (Cf. "Browning and Xenophon.")

A. A. 1224-1225: *Numa Pompilius*, 4, 9, 'a statement, also, that Aesculapius sojourned with Sophocles in his lifetime, of which many proofs still exist, and that, when he was dead, another deity took care of his funeral rites.' (Cf. *A. A.* 1254-1256; 2615-2623.)

*A. A. 1254-1256*, under *A. A. 1224-1225*.

*A. A. 1456-1465*: *Nicias*, 18, 1-7 (Nicias, sick and without defense, by a trick turns back the Syracusans coming to attack him after killing Lamachus); 23, 1-2 (Nicias is alarmed at an eclipse of the moon). (Cf. *A. A. 3087*; *3140*; and cf. "Browning and Aristophanes" and "Browning and Thucydides.")

*A. A. 1478-1494*: *Alcibiades*, 18, 4 to 19, 3 and 20, 3 to 21, 4 (a detailed account of the disturbances ensuing on the mutilation of the Hermae). (Cf. *A. A. 2602-2607*; and cf. "Browning and Aristophanes" and "Browning and Thucydides.") *An seni respublica gerenda sit*, 28, 4, 'when Hermes is represented in an elderly form, though he has no hands or feet, his virile parts are tense — an indirect way of saying that there is little need for old men's bodies to be hard at work, so long as their power of reasoned speech is — as it ought to be — vigorous and generative.'

*A. A. 1609-1611*: *Salon*, 21, 1. (Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes.")

*A. A. 1991-1995*: *Alcibiades*, 15, 7, 'Nor did he neglect to advise the Athenians to look to their interests by land, and often put the young men in mind of the oath which they had made at Agraulos, to the effect that they would account wheat and barley, and vines and olives, to be the limits of Attica; by which they were taught to claim a title to all land that was cultivated and productive.'

*A. A. 2013-2018*, under *A. A. 71-117*.

*A. A. 2033-2034*, "Prodikos — Who scarce could, unassisted, pick his steps": *An seni respublica gerenda sit*, 15, 3, in which Prodicus is described as thin, sickly, and constantly taking to his bed through ill-health. (Cf. "Browning and Plato.")

*A. A. 2074*, "bull's-blood," under *R. & B. XI*, 2410-2411.

*A. A. 2075-2076*, under *A. A. 71-117*. See *Pericles*, 5, 1-2 (Pericles' patience).

*A. A. 2077-2079*: *Nicias*, 23, 3-4 (Anaxagoras was the first to explain with assurance how the moon was eclipsed; he was imprisoned; Pericles had difficulty in procuring his liberty); *Pericles*, 35, 2-3, 'And now the vessels having their complement of men, and Pericles being gone aboard his own galley, it happened that the sun was eclipsed, and it grew dark on a sudden, to the affright of all, for this was looked upon as extremely ominous. Pericles, therefore, per-

ceiving the steersman seized with fear and at a loss what to do, took his cloak and held it up before the man's face, and screening him with it so that he could not see, asked him whether he imagined there was any great hurt, or the sign of any great hurt in this, and he answered No. "Why," said he, "and what does that differ from this, only that what has caused that darkness there, is somewhat greater than a cloak?" This is a story which philosophers tell their scholars.' *Pericles*, 6, 1 (Pericles not frightened by appearances in the heavens).

A. A. 2417-2418: *Lysander*, 7, 1 (Callicratidas died, having been beaten in a sea fight at Arginusae). (Cf. A. A. 5301-5302, and cf. "Browning and Xenophon.")

A. A. 2440-2446: *Alcibiades*, 1, 1-5 (the beauty and aristocratic training of Alcibiades); 26, 3-4 (the recall of Alcibiades from exile is proposed); 27, 1 (he is recalled); 32, 2 to 33, 2 (his return to Athens). The "petulance" of Alcibiades is frequently commented on by Plutarch. (Cf. "Browning and Plato" and "Browning and Thucydides.")

A. A. 2602-2607, under A. A. 1478-1494.

A. A. 2615-2623,<sup>1</sup> under A. A. 1224-1225.

A. A. 2637: *Pericles*, 8, 8; *An seni respublica gerenda sit*, 8, 9. (Cf. "Browning and Athenaeus.")

A. A. 2643-2644: *An seni respublica gerenda sit*, 3, 3-4. Plutarch quotes the lines which Sophocles read. (Cf. A. A. 3500-3512, and cf. "Browning and Lucian" and "Browning and Sophocles.")

A. A. 2862-2864: *Pericles*, 13, 2 and 4, mention Zeuxis and Phidias. But both names are too familiar to be attributed to any specific source.

A. A. 3087; under A. A. 1456-1465.

A. A. 3140, under A. A. 1456-1465.

A. A. 3253-3254: *Pericles*, 30, 4. (Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes.")

A. A. 3383-3384, under A. A. 128-129.

A. A. 3500-3512, under A. A. 2643-2644.

A. A. 5301-5302, under A. A. 2417-2418.

A. A. 5461-5650, under A. A. 71-117. "Bakis-prophecy" is well explained in *De Oraculis Pythiae*, 10 (cf. "Browning and Aristophanes").

<sup>1</sup> The detail of the setting up of the altar may be found in *Ex. Mag.* s. v. *Δεξιων*.

phanes" and "Browning and Lucian.") (On *A. A.* 5462-5464, see "Browning and Aesop.")

*A. A.* 5683, "in Arethousa by his grave": *Lycurgus*, 31, 5.

"Numpholeptos": *Aristides*, 11, 4 (explains the origin of the term *Nympholepti*, 'possessed with the nymphs'); *Numa Pompilius*, 3, 7 to 4, 4 (Numa, after the death of his wife, frequented the groves, fields, and desert places, and was admitted to celestial wedlock in the love and converse of the goddess Egeria — goddesses being capable of intermixture by the body with mortal men). Browning's explanation of the poem in a letter to Dr. Furnivall, quoted in Nicoll and Wise's *Literary Anecdotes of the Nineteenth Century*, I, 497, corresponds very accurately with these sources.

"Pheidippides," 105; 108, "flung down his shield"; 111, "in he broke": these details may have been suggested by *Bellone an pace clariores fuerint Athenienses*, 3, 'But most report that Eucles, running armed with his wounds reeking from the fight, and falling through the door into the first house he met, expired with only these words in his mouth, "God save ye, we are well." Now this man brought the news himself of a fight wherein he was present in person.' (Cf. "Browning and Lucian.")

"Echetlos," 29-30, "Woe for Themistokles — Satrap in Sardis court!": *Aristides*, 5, 4, 'Themistocles and Aristides being ranged together fought valiantly'; *Themistocles*, 29, 6 sqq. (the honors heaped upon Themistocles at the Persian court at Sardis).

"Pietro of Abano," 203: *Sulla*. The relationship is indeterminate. "Aeschylus' Soliloquy," 40-62 (quoted under "Browning and Aeschylus"): *Cimon*, 8, 9-11, 'This act got Cimon great favor with the people, one mark of which was the judgment, afterwards so famous, upon the tragic poets. Sophocles, still a young man, had just brought forward his first plays; opinions were much divided, and the spectators had taken sides with some heat. So, to determine the case, Apsephion, who was at that time archon, would not cast lots who should be judges; but when Cimon and his brother commanders with him came into the theatre, after they had performed the usual rites to the god of the festival, he would not allow them to retire, but came forward and made them swear (being ten in all, one from each tribe) the usual oath; and so being sworn judges, he

made them sit down to give sentence. The eagerness for victory grew all the warmer from the ambition to get the suffrages of such honorable judges. And the victory was at last adjudged to Sophocles, which Aeschylus is adjudged to have taken so ill, that he left Athens shortly after, and went in anger to Sicily, where he died, and was buried near the city of Gela.' (Cf. "Browning and Aeschylus.")

#### BROWNING AND JULIUS POLLUX

A. A. 584-587: *Onomasticon*, 8, 112, Περὶ Γυναικοκοσμων ἀρχῶν: Γυναικοκοσμοι δὲ ἀρχοὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ κοσμου τῶν γυναικῶν. τὰς δὲ ἀκοσμοβασας ἔγημον, καὶ τὰς ζημιας αὐτῶν γράφοντες, ἐξετίθεσαν ἐπὶ τῆς πλατάνου τῆς ἐν Κεραμικῷ.

#### BROWNING AND SIMONIDES

"Gerard de Lairesse," 423-424: Simonides, 69 (in Hiller's *Anthologia Lyrica*) is probably the poem to which Browning alludes.

#### BROWNING AND SOPHOCLES

*Pauline*, 963-965: *Antigone*, especially 808-822.

R. & B. IX, 1135-1137: *Oedipus at Colonus*, 1382.

B. A. 145, "Region of the Steed": *Oedipus at Colonus*, 668. (Cf. A. A. 3510-3511; and "Browning and Plutarch," under A. A. 2643-2644.)

A. A. 161-162, "what the pride Of Iokasté," refers to *Oedipus the King*. (Cf. A. A. 2938-2939.)

A. A. 274-278: "Argument of the *Antigone* by Aristophanes Grammaticus," "They say that Sophocles was honored with the command at Samos, having won favor in the production of the *Antigone*." (Cf. A. A. 2639-2641, and cf. "Browning and Athenaeus.")

A. A. 490-492: the ancient *Vita* of Sophocles informs us that according to one story, the monument of Sophocles was a siren, and Browning has taken the idea as equally applicable in the case of Euripides. (Cf. "Browning and Pausanias.")

A. A. 1228-1241: *Vita* (Heracles in a dream disclosed to Sophocles where a golden crown stolen from the Acropolis was hidden; after discovering it, and receiving the reward, Sophocles made it an offering to Heracles).

*A. A. 1252-1254: Vita.*

*A. A. 2112: Vita.*

*A. A. 2638: Vita.*

*A. A. 2639-2641, under A. A. 274-278.*

*A. A. 2643-2644: Vita.* (Cf. "Browning and Lucian" and "Browning and Plutarch.")

*A. A. 2938-2939, under A. A. 161-162.*

*A. A. 3510-3511, under B. A. 145.*

*A. A. 5165-5173, is based on details in the Vita.* (Cf. "Browning and Pausanias," on *A. A. 5247-5250*, for a description of the painting of Thamyris for which Sophocles perhaps served as a model.)

*A. A. 5376-5381: Oedipus at Colonus.* It is to be noted that not Iophon but, according to the argument to the play, 'Sophocles the grandson' produced this play.

#### BROWNING AND SUETONIUS

*Paracelsus*, IV, 692-693: *Claudius*, 21.

*R. & B. V, 627: Caligula* is perhaps the source.

*R. & B. V, 811, "Locusta's wile," may have been suggested by Nero, 33.* (Cf. "Browning and Juvenal" and "Browning and Tacitus.")

*R. & B. IX, 832-835: Nero, 10.*

*R. & B. X, 1833: Nero* may be the source, but is probably not the only one.

"Pietro of Abano," 433-440: *Tiberius*, 14.

"Imperante Augusto natus est — " 33-40; *Augustus*, 29.

"Imperante Augusto natus est — " 49-69: *Augustus*, 27 (ten years' Triumvir); 26 (Consul thirteen times); 58 (Father of his Country); 46 (Augustus planted thirty colonies in Italy); 28 ("marble now, brick once"); 30 (drained Tiber); 30 (straightened the Flaminian way); 41 (donatives); 43 (half a hundred games); *passim* (extended the empire over all the world).

"Imperante Augusto natus est — " 119-122: *Augustus*, 79.

"Imperante Augusto natus est — " 125-135: *Augustus*, 91.

## BROWNING AND TACITUS

R. & B. V, 811, "Locusta's wile": *Annals*, 12, 66-67. (Cf. "Browning and Juvenal" and "Browning and Suetonius.")

R. & B. IX, 886-887, embodies a villainous pun on the name of Tacitus.

R. & B. XII, 504: *History*, 5, 3-4.

## BROWNING AND THUCYDIDES

*Paracelsus*, II, 427-430: Thucydides, 6, 56-57 (the story of Harmodius and Aristogiton). (Cf. *Pippa Passes*, II, 61-63.)

*Pippa Passes*, II, 61-63, under *Paracelsus*, II, 427-430.

R. & B. IX, 1109-1110: the scholium on Thucydides, 1, 126, 3, under the lemma Κύλων ἦν, states that some 'admiring the clear-cut quality of the account of Cylon, said that here the lion laughed, referring to Thucydides.' There is no "joke" in Thucydides.

B. A. 7-8: Thucydides, 6, 8-26. (Cf. "Browning and Plutarch.")

B. A. 11-18: Thucydides, 8, 44, 1-3 (Rhodes goes over to the Peloponnesians).

B. A. 42-43: Thucydides, 8, 39, 3; 41, 1; 41, 4; 42, 2 (all these passages mention Caunus in connection with events at this moment).

B. A. 58-63: Thucydides, 1, 5, 2-3 (the commonness of piracy; Locrian pirates); 2, 32 (privateers off the northern part of Greece); 1, 10, 4 (ships without decks, 'equipped in the old piratical fashion'); 4, 9, 1; 8, 38, 2 (in these two passages and elsewhere in Thucydides, the κέλης, the smallest seagoing vessel, is mentioned).

B. A. 106-108: Thucydides, 7, 87, 1-3. (Cf. "Browning and Plutarch," under B. A. 56-245.)

B. A. 337-338: Thucydides, 2, 15, 4 (the temple of Dionysus in the Marshes). (Cf. "Browning and Pausanias," and cf. B. A. 348-357, and A. A. 199-202.)

B. A. 348-357, under B. A. 337-338.

A. A. 70, may be reminiscent of the advice by Pericles to the Athenians (Thucydides, 2, 60-64) including the exhortation to confront their enemies 'not merely with spirit but with disdain.'

A. A. 78-84: Thucydides, 7, 77, 7, 'Men make the city and not walls or ships without men in them.' (Cf. A. A. 94, and cf. "Browning and Lucian.")

*A. A.* 94, under *A. A.* 78-84.

*A. A.* 199-202, under *B. A.* 337-338.

*A. A.* 448-451: Thucydides, 1, 6, 3. (Cf. *A. A.* 880, “‘Grasshoppers’”; 1040-1048 (the portion concerning the grasshoppers; and cf. “Browning and Aristophanes.”)

*A. A.* 495-496: Thucydides, 2, 43, 3. (Cf. “Browning and Xenophon.”)

*A. A.* 693: Thucydides, 7, 28, 4; 8, 15, 1.

*A. A.* 880, under *A. A.* 488-451.

*A. A.* 1040-1048, under *A. A.* 488-451.

*A. A.* 1182-1184: Thucydides, 8, 95, 7-96, 3 (the revolt of Euboea). (Cf. Thucydides, 8, 5, 1; 8, 60; 8, 95, 2.) “The Confederacy” is a familiar term (*ξυμμαχία*) in Thucydides (e.g. 1, 130, 5).

*A. A.* 1456-1457: Thucydides, 7, 50, 4. (Cf. “Browning and Plutarch.”)

*A. A.* 1478-1494: Thucydides, 6, 27-28 (the mutilation of the Hermae). (Cf. “Browning and Aristophanes” and “Browning and Plutarch.”) The term “drunkard’s frolic” may be from Dale’s translation of Thucydides, in the Bohn edition, which Browning owned. (Cf. *A. A.* 2602-2607.)

*A. A.* 1861: Thucydides, 4, 21-22; 4, 27-39. These passages are memorable in regard to Cleon’s impudence and his demagogic methods. (Cf. *A. A.* 1870, and cf. “Browning and Aristophanes.”)

*A. A.* 1870, under *A. A.* 1861.

*A. A.* 2440-2446: the various references to Alcibiades in Thucydides, 5-8, may have emphasized in Browning’s mind the personal characteristics and aristocratic opinions of Alcibiades. (Cf. “Browning and Plato” and “Browning and Plutarch.”) See particularly Thucydides, 6, 15, 4; 6, 28, 2; 8, 47-48, 4; 8, 63, 3; 8, 65; 8, 81, 3; 8, 97, 3.

*A. A.* 2602-2607, under *A. A.* 1478-1494.

*A. A.* 2848-2893: Thucydides, 1, 5, 3-1, 6, 6. (Cf. “Browning and Lucian.”)

*A. A.* 3143-3144: Thucydides, 5, 2-3; 5, 6-10 (the close of Cleon’s life). (Cf. *A. A.* 3350.)

*A. A.* 3350, under *A. A.* 3143-3144.

## BROWNING AND ULPIAN

"The Bishop orders his Tomb at Saint Praxed's Church," 79, and 99-100, mentions Ulpian with some criticism of his style.

## BROWNING AND VALERIUS MAXIMUS

R. & B. VIII, 914-949: *De Dictis Factisque Memorabilibus*, 8, 1, *ad. fin.* Browning drew the story from the pamphlet of Arcangeli in the *Old Yellow Book* (Everyman's Library edition, p. 22).

## BROWNING AND VIRGIL

*Pauline*, 526-528: *Aeneid*, 6, 136-144.<sup>1</sup>

*Paracelsus*, V, 123-125: *Georgics*, 1, 277-283. (Cf. *A. A.* 1681-1682; "Francis Furini," 146-147; and cf. "Browning and Ovid.")

*Pippa Passes*, I, 313, "et canibus nostris": *Elegues*, 3, 67.

"Artemis Prologizes": *Aeneid*, 7, 765-777 (see under "Browning and Ovid").

"Waring," 54: *Aeneid*, 3, 658.

*A Blot in the Scutcheon*, II, 150-152: *Elegues*, 10, 69.

"Cleon," 1, "the sprinkled isles": *Aeneid*, 3, 126-127, "sparsasque per aequor / Cyclades."

"Dis Aliter Visum": this title is a phrase from the *Aeneid*, 2, 428.

"Mr. Sludge, 'the Medium,'" 1431, "the Golden Age": *Elegues*, 4, 1-47. (Cf. R. & B. IX, 282-286; 1227; X, 780-781.)

R. & B. IV, 1144, "Paphos": *Aeneid*, 1, 415-417. But Homer is the likelier source, in view of the context (see "Browning and Homer").

R. & B. V, 672, "Thyrsis to Neaera": Thyrsis appears in *Elegues*, 7; Neaera, in *Elegues*, 3, 3.

R. & B. V, 1282, "Ultima Thule": *Georgics*, 1, 30.

R. & B. V, 2009-2011: *Georgics*, 4, 237-238. (Cf. "Browning and Pliny.")

R. & B. VII, 977-979: *Georgics*, 4, 87. (Cf. "Browning and Pliny.")

R. & B. VIII, 133: *Aeneid*, 1, 73.

R. & B. VIII, 136, mentions Virgil, in comment on his diction.

<sup>1</sup> References are to Heyne's edition of the works of Virgil.

R. & B. VIII, 358-359: *Georgics*, 2, 458. The word in Virgil means *if*, not *inasmuch as*.

R. & B. VIII, 472-473: *Aeneid*, 1, 278.

R. & B. VIII, 1182: *Aeneid*, 1, 150. Browning found the phrase quoted in this connection in the First Anonymous Pamphlet in the *Old Yellow Book* (Everyman's Library edition, p. 154).

R. & B. VIII, 1520, "passibus aequis": *Aeneid*, 2, 724.

R. & B. IX, 91, "E pluribus unum": *Moretum*, 103.

R. & B. IX, 119, "Phoebus plucks my ear": *Eclogues*, 6, 3-4, "Cynthus aurem Vellit et admonuit." Cf. Milton's *Lycidas*, 77.

R. & B. IX, 282-286: *Eclogues*, 4, 5-7 (cf. *ibid.* 4, 1-47). (Cf. R. & B. IX, 1227; X, 780-781; and "Mr. Sludge, 'The Medium,'" 1431.)

R. & B. IX, 368, "Heu prisca fides!": *Aeneid*, 6, 879.

R. & B. IX, 541: Amaryllis is mentioned in *Eclogues*, 1, 31; 1, 37; and elsewhere.

R. & B. IX, 657-658: *Aeneid*, 1, 348-364.

R. & B. IX, 747-748: *Eclogues*, 8, 41.

R. & B. IX, 1227: *Eclogues*, 4, 6. (Cf. R. & B. IX, 282-286.)

R. & B. IX, 1242: *Georgics*, 1, 151-154.

R. & B. IX, 1299: *Aeneid*, 1, 203.

R. & B. IX, 1333-1335: *Eclogues*, 3, 1-2. (Cf. R. & B. IX, 1564, for another instance in which Bottini slightly misquotes — see under "Browning and Horace.")

R. & B. IX, 1345-1350: *Georgics*, 4, 315-332 and 554-558.

R. & B. IX, 1376-1378: *Eclogues*, 4, 60 (adapted).

R. & B. X, 297-298, mentions the Virgilian *sortes*.

R. & B. X, 780-781, under R. & B. IX, 282-286.

R. & B. X, 997, is perhaps reminiscent of *Aeneid*, 1, 44.

R. & B. X, 2088-2090: *Aeneid*, 2, 519-522.

R. & B. XI, 1922-1923: *Aeneid*, 8, 314-315.

R. & B. XI, 1925-1928: *Aeneid*, 8, 352-354, where Evander says that his Arcadians believed that they had often seen Jupiter himself on the Capitoline hill, shaking his darkening aegis in his hand and driving the storm-clouds. "Aegiochus" is a common epithet of Zeus in Homer. (Cf. "Jove Aegiochus," in R. & B. XI, 1936.)

**R. & B. XI, 1932:** Mr. A. K. Cook's note is “‘The motto’ is, I suppose, the second line quoted from Virgil in the note on 1922-3, *Gensque virum truncis et duro robore nata.*” (*Aeneid*, 8, 315.)

*Prince Hohenstiel-Schwangau, Saviour of Society*, 2136-2137, may be associated with *Georgics*, 2, 146. But the detail is mentioned by many ancient writers, notably Pliny, in his *Epistles*, 8, 8.

*Fifine at the Fair*, 1329-1333: *Georgics*, 2, 376-384 (goats became sacrifices to Bacchus and associated with Bacchic contests because they offended Bacchus by eating the vines). See *A. A. 1449-1455* for Browning's use of the passage in the *Georgics* which follows the one here adduced.

*A. A. 1449-1455:* *Georgics*, 2, 385-392 (the farmers of Ausonia, in honor of Bacchus, hang tiny waving masks of him from the tall pine).

*A. A. 1681-1682*, under *Paracelsus*, V, 123-125.

*The Two Poets of Croisic*, 585-588: *Aeneid*, 1, 144-147 (Neptune and Triton “shove” the vessels of Aeneas); *Georgics*, 1, 31, mentions the sea-nymph Tethys; *Aeneid*, 5, 825, mentions Thetis in the retinue of Neptune. (Cf. *The Two Poets of Croisic*, 621.)

*The Two Poets of Croisic*, 621, under *ibid.* 585-588.

“Pan and Luna”: *Georgics*, 3, 384-393.

“Pambo,” 50: *Elegies*, 7, 4. (Cf. “Arcades Ambo.”)

“Francis Furini,” 146-147, under *Paracelsus*, V, 123-125.

“Arcades Ambo,” the title, under “Pambo,” 50.

“Imperante Augusto natus est —” 64-74: *Aeneid*, 6, 789-806 (divinity is hinted at in 791).

#### BROWNING AND VITRUVIUS

*A. A. 5679-5685:* Vitruvius, 8, 3, 16, ‘In Macedonia, at the place where Euripides is buried, two streams approach from the right and left of his tomb, and unite. By one of these, travellers are in the habit of lying down and taking luncheon, because its water is good; but nobody goes near the stream on the other side of the tomb, because its water is said to be death-dealing.’

## BROWNING AND XENOPHON

R. & B. X, 1698, "‘Know thyself’": *Memorabilia*, 4, 2, 24. (Cf. "Browning and Juvenal.")

A. A. 98, "flute-girl, dancing girl": *Symposium*, 2, 7-8.

A. A. 333-335: *Hellenica*, 1, 7. (Cf. "Browning and Aristophanes.")

A. A. 496: *Symposium*, 4, 21. (Cf. "Browning and Thucydides.")

A. A. 664: *Symposium*, 4, 41, mentions Thasian wine as an expensive gratification. (Cf. A. A. 730; 1092; 1279; 1429; 2398; 5386; and cf. "Browning and Athenaeus.")

A. A. 730, under A. A. 664.

A. A. 1092, under A. A. 664.

A. A. 1182: *Hellenica*, 1, 5, 1 (Lysander takes command of the Lacedaemonian fleet); 2, 1, 6-7 (he resumes command). (Cf. "Browning and Plutarch.")

A. A. 1279, under A. A. 664.

A. A. 1429, under A. A. 664.

A. A. 1559, "the Flat-nose": *Symposium*, 5, 6 (a ludicrous debate between Critobulus and Socrates, in which the latter maintains that his nose is more beautiful than that of Critobulus, because its nostrils expanded upward are better adapted to catching scents from all quarters, and because a flat nose is no obstruction to the eyes). (Cf. "Browning and Plato.")

A. A. 2047-2048, "ere the problem's solved — Why should I like my wife who dislikes me?": *Symposium*, 2, 9-10, 'Socrates observed, "From many other things, my friends, and from what this girl is now doing, it is apparent that the talent of women is not inferior to that of men, though they are wanting in bodily vigor and strength; so that whosoever of you has a wife, let him teach her with confidence whatever he would wish to have her know." "How is it, then, my dear Socrates," said Antisthenes, "that, if you think thus, you do not also educate Xanthippe, instead of having a wife the most ill-conditioned of all women that are in existence, and, as I believe, of all that ever were and ever will be?" "Because," replied Socrates, "I see that those who wish to be skilled in horsemanship do not choose the best-tempered horses, but those of high mettle; for they think that if they can master such animals, they

will easily manage any other horses. So likewise I, wishing to converse and associate with mankind, have chosen this wife, well knowing that if I shall be able to endure her, I shall easily bear the society of all other people." This remark was thought to have been made by no means inapplicably.'

*A. A.* 2398, under *A. A.* 664.

*A. A.* 2417-2419<sup>1</sup>: *Hellenica*, 1, 6, 26-34 (a full account of the battle of Arginusae, including the drowning of Callicratidas); 2, 3, 17-56 (a detailed account of the conflict in Athens between Theramenes and the other members of the Thirty, of the charges brought against him by Critias, of his defense, and of his execution); 2, 2, 15-23 (an account of how Theramenes, as envoy to Lysander and later to the Lacedaemonians, by long delays brought the Athenians to yield to the terms proposed by the Lacedaemonians). (Cf. *A. A.* 5301-5306; and cf. "Browning and Plutarch.")

*A. A.* 5301-5306, under *A. A.* 2417-2419.

*A. A.* 5386, under *A. A.* 664. (But see "Browning and Aristophanes.")

*A. A.* 5461-5475: *Hellenica*, 2, 2, 23 (Lysander sailed into the Piraeus); 2, 1, 21-29 (the battle at Aegospotami); 2, 2, 20 (the

<sup>1</sup> Theramenes, having helped the Four Hundred into power, became the leader of the opposition to them at Athens (Thucydides, 8, 89) and was largely instrumental in deposing them (*ibid.* 90-98). Four years later, after the battle of Arginusae, Theramenes and Thrasybulus were commissioned by the generals to save as many as possible of the crews of the vessels that had been sunk. A storm made the execution of the order impracticable. To divert from himself the popular anger, he accused the generals of the neglect by which so many lives had been lost, and was chiefly instrumental in the condemnation of the generals. Later, after having been instrumental in securing the surrender of Athens to the Lacedaemonians, he took the chief part in establishing the Thirty, and when he remonstrated against their tyrannical proceedings, was put to death by them, though he was one of their number. By his constant trimming, he had earned the nickname of *Kέλοπος* — a boot for either foot (*Schol. Ran.* 541, 970). He seems generally to have enjoyed popular favor, but not to have been trusted by either the democratic or oligarchical factions. Why Aristophanes should have referred to him as a fool in line 2419 of the *Apology* is obvious enough when one considers what a plague-spot he was to a true aristocrat such as Browning paints Aristophanes as being, and how he had just caused the deaths of several of the best generals of Athens, thus injuring the hopes of a favorable peace with Sparta based upon the victory at Arginusae. The chief sources of Browning's knowledge of the position of Theramenes at this time were probably Xenophon (*loci citati*) and Thucydides (8, 89-98).

Lacedaemonians set the destruction of the long walls among the conditions of peace); 2, 2, 22, 'The next day the ambassadors reported on what conditions the Lacedaemonians were willing to make peace; and Theramenes, as their spokesman, said that they should obey the Lacedaemonians, and destroy the walls. When some had opposed him, but far more agreed with him, it was resolved to accept the peace.' There is nothing in these passages that is not in Plutarch (see "Browning and Plutarch") unless it be the suggestion in the passage last cited for "We obey" (A. A. 5471).

A. A. 5481-5486: *Hellenica*, 2, 2, 15. But the direct source for these lines of the *Apology* was apparently Plutarch (see "Browning and Plutarch"); Xenophon in no way, however, conflicts with Browning or Plutarch.

A. A. 5513-5539 (also 5580-5588 and 5625-5650): *Hellenica*, 2, 2, 10; 2, 2, 19; 2, 2, 20; 2, 2, 23. (Cf. "Browning and Plutarch.")

## SUMMARIES OF DISSERTATIONS FOR THE DEGREE OF PH.D., 1921-22

LESTER MARSH PRINDLE. — *Quaestiones de libello quem Iulius Firmicus Maternus scripsit de errore profanarum religionum.*

In this thesis I have discussed the work of Iulius Firmicus Maternus on the pagan cults from two points of view, first, as a political pamphlet, second, as an apology for Christianity. In A.D. 341 the emperors Constantius and Constans issued an edict providing for the immediate suppression of pagan worship. It proved ineffective and Firmicus then urged the emperors to complete the work of suppression.

The work gave expression, apparently for the first time, to certain ideas of the proper relation between church and state which were of great importance in the Middle Ages. First, it is a kindness to a pagan to convert him by fire and sword if necessary and so to save his soul. This implies that a forced conversion is at once possible and capable of assuring salvation. Second, the material prosperity of a state depends on the orthodoxy of the whole body of its inhabitants. Hence, the sovereign is directly responsible to God for the salvation of the subject's soul as well as for the prosperity of the realm as a whole, and what we call persecution becomes a duty at once religious and civic.

On the contrary, the earlier Fathers of the Church, such as Tertullian, held exactly the opposite views. No forced conversion can be either real or efficacious and right religion is more likely than not to be attended by poverty and suffering in this world. Furthermore, why should Firmicus plead for persecution, when the Edict of Milan had guaranteed equal rights to all beliefs less than thirty years before? In my first chapter I have tried to show that these contradictions are only apparent. The earlier Christians believed in toleration, not as a principle, but only as applied to their own persecuted selves; they believed that righteousness and suffering were linked together in the divine scheme because by so believing they made their own sufferings easier to bear. The Edict of Milan was not the result of a general

belief in toleration as such, but of a truce between two forces for the moment almost evenly matched.

When Christianity became prosperous and powerful enough to persecute in its turn, it evolved a political philosophy to account for its prosperity and to justify its acts of persecution. This philosophy first found full expression in the work of Firmicus Maternus and it has formed a large part of the political and theological basis for religious persecution from that time to this.

In my second chapter I have considered Firmicus as an apologete, one of the long line which, for practical purposes, may be said to begin with Aristides and Justin Martyr and to end with Saint Augustine. Firmicus contributes little that is new and my task has been merely to classify roughly the arguments used by the apologetes in general, and to show what use Firmicus made of them in sustaining his position that the pagan cults should be put down by force.

Most of the arguments found in the apologetic literature of the first five Christian centuries fall under one or another of the following headings and it is in this order that I have discussed them.

1. On the crimes of the gods.
2. On the physical or allegorical interpretation of mythology.
3. On the cult of the physical elements.
4. On the doctrines of Euhemerus and his school.
5. On the worship of idols.
6. On demons and their activities.

We find that Firmicus contributes some new material on the physical interpretation of myths and on the doctrines of Euhemerus. He also displays considerable skill in the choice of material suited to the aims of his pamphlet.

---

STANLEY BARNEY SMITH. — *De Sortitione apud Athenienses*

THE objects which the writer of this thesis proposed to himself were three: first, to show the origin of the use of lot in political affairs at Athens; secondly, to describe the gradual extension of its use down to the year 330 B.C.; thirdly, to explain by an exact enumeration and description of political magistracies the circumstances which attended its use and the motives which led to its employment.

Whilst the theory of Fustel de Coulanges, namely, that the religious significance of lot was constantly before the minds of the Athenians at such a late period as the fifth and fourth centuries, was felt to be unsound, we cannot deny that at some period of great antiquity lot and religion were closely related. The evidence of ancient authors who are describing actual polities shows that for them the sole notion underlying lot was that of a political instrument.

Not Draco, though Aristotle ascribes the institution to him, nor Solon can we regard as having been the first to introduce lot into the arena of politics. The honor of this innovation may be justly claimed by Cleisthenes: for he employed lot in the selection of his council. The administrative change in the year 487 B.C., whereby the archons were for the first time designated by lot, reveals the machinations of Themistocles and the liberals who were in power at the time. Two of the constituent elements of the government were thus made democratic. The third, the dicasts, was, if not actually created, at least completely reformed by Pericles, who enlarged these courts and enhanced their prerogatives.

The detailed account of the magistracies of the fifth century, which followed, shows the vast extent to which lot was used; the exceptions make clear the reasons. Analyzing the revolutionary movements that attended the downfall of the Athenian empire, we found that lot was regarded distinctly as a democratic tool.

As of the fifth century so of the fourth an enumeration and description of the magistrates was given. Whilst in the account of the fifth century we did not study the minor political groupings, if we may so denominate them, of demes, *gentes*, colleges, and tribes, we found in treating the fourth century that there was a little valid evidence. We were enabled, for example, to cite one interesting bit of evidence bearing on the question whether the demarch was selected by lot or not.<sup>1</sup>

After studying the evidence, we found that the use of lot was associated with the following circumstances: first, the extension of lot corresponded to the democratization of Athens; secondly, lot was employed only in the case of magistrates whose duties were not above the intelligence of the average man and whose authority was strictly

<sup>1</sup> Cf. I. G. (ed. min.) 1194, line 3.

delimited; thirdly, lot and rotation of office were found together; fourthly, lot was very frequently conjoined with the collegiate principle; and fifthly, lot was used only in connection with regular magistracies. The objects aimed at by this political instrument were as follows: first, to train citizens effectively for political life; secondly, to avoid *stasis*; thirdly, to avoid corruption; and fourthly, to enable the people to rule and at the same time to ensure the representation of minorities.

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Edited by a Committee of the Classical Instructors of  
Harvard University.

PUBLISHED BY THE HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

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